KENNETH S. MACDONALD

M.A., D.D.

BY

JAMES M. MACPHAIL

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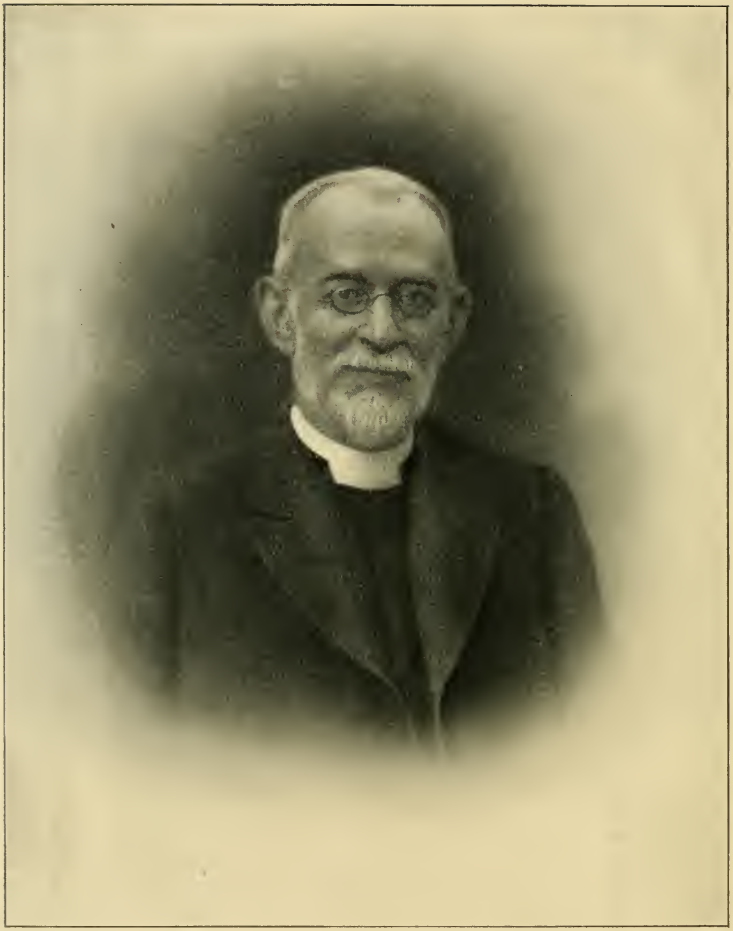




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From a Photograph by Professor A. Thomson, M.A., Duff College, Calcutta.

KENNETH S. MACDONALD

M.A., D.D.

MISSIONARY OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, CALCUTTA

BY

JAMES M. MACPHAIL
M.A., M.D.Glas.

καλὸς στρατιώτης χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ

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PREFACE

In the "far flung battle line" of missionary enterprise, the subject of this Memoir held for over forty years an honoured and conspicuous place. That alone is surely justification for writing his life, and to it may be added the natural desire of a large circle of relatives, friends and fellow-workers, to have a permanent memorial of a gracious personality.

When he was in Scotland on his last furlough in 1899-1900, Dr Macdonald occupied some of his spare time in writing autobiographical notes. They were not prepared for publication, and were of a very fragmentary character, so it has been considered best not to attempt to piece them together, but to weave them into a narrative compiled from letters, diaries, newspapers and other contemporary records. But the task of the biographer, in any case a pleasant one, has, by the help of these notes, been rendered much simpler than it would otherwise have been.

It was inevitable that the record of Dr Macdonald's life should touch upon a number of matters which were, and in many cases still are, subjects of controversy. As a rule the writer has considered it to be his duty, neither to enter into the merits of these questions, nor to express his own views about them, but simply to state, as fairly as possible, the position taken up by Dr Macdonald. Only in one case, in regard to a vexed question about which Dr Macdonald and he frankly differed, has he ventured to criticise the views he has been called upon to expound.

No attempt has been made to follow a consistent method of spelling Indian names, either of persons or places. "Kanpur" for Cawnpore, and "Lakhnao" for Lucknow, would to a good many readers be unintelligible. Even the same word may not always be

spelt in the same way; in one place, for example, the Bengali form *somaj* (an assembly), and in another the Hindi form *samaj*, may be used, according to the context.

The writer takes this opportunity of thanking the members of Dr Macdonald's family, who have placed his letters and papers so freely at his disposal, especially Mrs Macdonald, without whose generous assistance, in this and other ways, the book could not have been written; also Mr J. N. Farquhar, M.A., of the Young Men's Christian Association, Calcutta, for revising the manuscript, and the Rev. David Reid, B.D. for correcting the proofs.

J. M. M.

CHAKAI, BENGAL,
September 1904.

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CHAPTER I

BIRTH AND BOYHOOD

"Grey recumbent tombs of the dead in desert places,
Standing stones on the vacant wine-red moor,
Hills of sheep, and the homes of the silent vanished races,
And winds, austere and pure.

"Be it granted me to behold you again in dying,
Hills of home! and to hear again the call;
Hear about the graves of the martyrs the peewees crying,
And hear no more at all."

—R. L. Stevenson.

Kenneth Somerled Macdonald was born on the 18th April 1832 in Carrachan, the western part of the village of Milton, Milntown, or Milltown, in the heart of Glen Urquhart. With the love of his native heath characteristic of the Highlander, he used to speak of his early home as "the sweetest of the many glens and valleys of Scotland," and quote with pride Robert Chambers' description of it as "the Temple of Scotland." Bounded on three sides by the heather-clad hills, and by the waters of Loch Ness on the fourth, it is one of those many beautiful straths of Inverness-shire, where there is a richness of verdure and a mildness in the air, which we are accustomed to associate with the south of England rather than with the north of Scotland.

A distinguished Anglo-Indian who was born in the same village was Charles Grant, the statesman and philanthropist, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the East India Company, and Member of Parliament for Inverness-shire. The Macdonalds and the Grants were distantly related by marriage—if any relationship can be called distant in the Highlands—Kenneth's great-grandfather's elder sister having married Alexander Grant, the

father of Charles; both families, although settled in Milltown, regarded Shewglie, five or six miles further up the glen, whence the people had been turned out to make room for the sheep, and the sheep in turn gave way to the deer, as their ancestral home; and the forefathers of both had been "out" with bonnie Prince Charlie in 1745. Charles Grant, in fact, was born while his father was fighting on the field of Culloden, along with Somerled Macdonald, great-grandfather of the subject of this memoir. The Macdonalds, it is well known, took little part in the struggle. The clan stood sullen and idle, because to them the place of honour in the field had not been assigned. It is doubtful, however, if Somerled was with the main body of the Macdonalds, for his own chieftain in the rising was Sir James Grant of Shewglie, who was taken prisoner, and seems to have died in captivity.

The visitor to Culloden Moor can still make out the position of the various clans, marked by monuments in stone, as well as the boulder where the standard of the Duke of Cumberland is said to have been raised. Near the place where the Macdonalds stood is the "Well of the Dead," which, the country folk still aver, ran blood for many days after the battle. It was the writer's privilege, while on furlough in 1898, to visit nearly all the scenes associated with Kenneth Macdonald's boyhood—tramping one day the whole length of Glen Urquhart from Cannich to Temple Pier on Loch Ness—as well as the field of Culloden. Finding a little Highland lassie filling her pitcher at this well, he asked her, "Do you really drink this water?" "We only use it for washing, but not for meat," was her reply.

The Macdonald family claimed to be able to trace their descent by direct line from a period in comparison with which the Jacobite Rebellion was very recent history. They were lineal descendants of "the Mighty Somerled," Lord of the Isles, who in the twelfth century held the position of an independent prince, and more than once waged war on Malcolm IV., King of Scotland. Two dynasties sprang from this warrior, the Lords of the Isles, descended from the elder son Ronald, and the Lords of Lorn from the second son Dougal, from whom they took their surname of Macdougal.[1] The

[1] "Think'st thou amid this ample round,
A single brow but thine has frowned,
To sadden this auspicious morn,
That bids the daughter of high Lorn

Macdonalds of our story belonged to the former branch, the Macdonalds of Clan Ronald. Castle Urquhart was one of their strongholds. It was apparently "the Red Cavalier" who crossed the Strathglass Hills with his followers, on account of some family feud, and settled in the east. His two sons, Somerled and Ian, fought both at Falkirk and Culloden. After the defeat they were both outlawed. They hid in the hills of their native land till the Duke of Cumberland issued a proclamation offering a free pardon to all who would appear in Inverness before a certain date, lay down their arms, and swear fealty to King George. Somerled, on hearing this, said he would prefer to trust to the woods and caves of the earth for peace and safety, than to the redcoats of King George and the butcher prince. But Ian and some twenty more Glen Urquhart men trusted the Duke's word, surrendered themselves at Inverness, were shipped off to the West Indies, and there sold as slaves to the planters. After the storm had blown over, Somerled turned his sword into a ploughshare, settled down to farm his father's land, married, and begot sons and daughters. One of these sons was Kenneth, and one of Kenneth's sons was Ian or John, known as Ian Choinnich,[1] the father of the future missionary. Ian Macdonald, born in 1799, was married in 1823 to the prettiest girl in the glen, the daughter of Donald Campbell, a man of some property in Milltown, who spent most of his time in the study of astronomy and other physical sciences. He wrote much, but published nothing.

This marriage was long remembered in the glen as the last that was celebrated in the old Highland style. The guests numbered between three and four hundred. Fat bullocks and sheep were killed, and pure Highland whisky was drunk by the gallon. The wedding ceremony was performed in the parish church, for the

Impledge her spousal faith to wed
The Heir of mighty Somerled?
Ronald, from many a hero sprung,
The fair, the valiant, and the young,
LORD OF THE ISLES, whose lofty name,
A thousand bards have given to fame,
The mate of monarchs, and allied
On equal terms with England's pride."

The Lord of the Isles, Canto I. 8.

[1] *i.e.*, John, son of Kenneth.

custom of celebrating marriages in private houses, which afterwards became so common in Scotland, was at that time regarded with disfavour. Two processions, afterwards united in one, were formed before the ceremony. One consisted of the bridegroom and his friends, the other of the bride and hers; but the fathers of both bride and bridegroom led the first procession, mounted on horseback. They were followed by two bagpipers, and after them came the bridegroom, escorted by two maidens, then the bridegroom's friends, each with a maid on his arm, while the rest of the train was made up of friends, all walking in couples. At an appointed place, the bride's procession met them, and the whole party then proceeded to the church. On returning from the church the procession was in very much the same order, with the exception that it was now headed by the newly married pair, arm in arm. As the first procession referred to wended its way along the road towards the church, the male relations of all the unmarried girls in the neighbourhood, whom the bridegroom was supposed to have rejected, ranged themselves along the roadside, armed with guns and gunpowder, and fired blank charges at the bridegroom's party. The bridegroom was escorted by a "firing party" of young men, who returned the fusillade. The bridal procession was on this occasion nearly a mile long. It proceeded to a large barn in Milltown, which had been specially fitted up for the marriage feast. As the newly married couple crossed the threshold baskets of oatmeal cakes were thrown up into the air so that their contents should fall over their heads, and the broken fragments were eagerly scrambled for by the young unmarried men and maidens. Long tables were loaded with eatables, beef, mutton, lamb and fowl, roasted, boiled, stewed, and prepared in every conceivable way by a professional cook from Inverness; and whisky flowed in abundance to sharpen the appetites of the guests. Men with flails marched up and down the hall pretending to compel the people to eat and drink. Outside the house the bagpipes skirled; inside, three or four fiddlers were vigorously at work. When the first occupants of the table finished they adjourned to dance on the green and others took their places. This was kept up for three days. Then the home-coming was made the occasion of another feast that lasted two days.

Ian Choinnich's youngest brother, William Somerled Macdonald, born in 1815, was a man of some literary distinction. He published a Gaelic translation of Bunyan's *Water of Life*, and of the hymns

Abide with me, and *Nearer, my God, to Thee*, and also some reminiscences of his elder brother John, Kenneth's father. He was engaged in teaching for some years, both in England and Scotland, and spent some time searching through the Highlands for traces of pre-Christian Gaelic literature, in connection with the Ossian controversy. His quest does not seem to have had any definite result. After some years spent in teaching in different parts of England, he took orders in the Church of England, and when he died in 1884 was rector of the parish of Hennock in Devonshire.

Kenneth was one of a family of seven, two sons and five daughters, all of whom grew up to manhood or womanhood. It may as well be stated here that his brother, Donald Campbell Macdonald, his companion at school and college, was ordained Free Church minister of Kilmuir-Easter in Ross-shire the year after Kenneth sailed for India. He spent over forty years in the ministry there, as Kenneth did in Calcutta; he was Kenneth's one life-long correspondent, and died on 17th January 1904, six months after the close of his brother's career.

Kenneth's mother was a woman of intellectual power, deep religious convictions and force of character. Well versed in her Gaelic Bible, she was most assiduous in training up her children in the Christian faith. Husband and wife joined the Free Church at the Disruption, and remained warmly attached members of this communion all their lives. A story told of his mother is of much interest in view of the share her son took in after years in temperance work. When her mind was deeply exercised about any subject, it was her habit to accept any verse of Scripture that occurred to her as a divine revelation and a sure guide to the right line of conduct. A short time before Kenneth was born, the words of Judges xiii. 7 came powerfully home to her: "Thou shalt bear a son; now drink no wine nor strong drink, . . . for the child shall be a Nazarite to God from the womb to the day of his death." The idea of total abstinence was at that time almost if not altogether unknown in the Highlands; the Macdonalds were godly people, but strong drink was in common use in their house, as in those of all their neighbours. Still she resolved to obey the word which she believed had been given to her, and from that day till her child was weaned she tasted no wine or strong drink. She explained all this to her husband, but kept it secret from all others, and Kenneth did not hear about it till he had definitely committed himself to the cause

of total abstinence at the end of his first college session in Aberdeen.

As regards Foreign Missions, the Northern Highlands were by no means behind the rest of the country, however backward they may have been in the matter of temperance. When there seemed to be no prospect of the Church of Scotland being made to realise its responsibility for extending the knowledge of the Gospel, a vigorous organisation which became known as the Northern Missionary Society, was founded in Tain in 1800, by the evangelicals, under the presidency of the Rev. Alexander Fraser of Kirkhill, the son, grandson, and great-grandson, and also the father and grandfather, of eminent ministers of Christ. The objects of this society were—to stir up an interest in foreign missions by the preaching of special sermons; the diffusion of information by means of meetings and publications, and the collection of money for missionary purposes. It sent out no missionaries of its own to foreign lands, but allied itself to existing societies. Prominent among these were the London Mission, in connection with which it supported a native catechist, Angus Macintosh by name, in Travancore, the Moravian and the Baptist Missionary Societies. It also contributed to the India, Jewish, and Colonial schemes of the Church of Scotland when these were instituted, and various societies for educating and evangelising the Irish Roman Catholics. After the death of its founder, its moving spirit was Dr John Macdonald of Ferintosh, "the Apostle of the North," whose son resigned a London charge to join the Mission in Calcutta, where he died after a brief ministry. Meetings were held regularly at Tain, Dingwall, and Inverness, and much interest was awakened. Among those who attended, and were deeply impressed by, these meetings were Kenneth's parents. Conversation about the various reports they had listened to became a prominent feature in the family life, and the news of the progress of missionary enterprise was eagerly read. At the Disruption this Society was merged in the Free Church, which afforded abundant scope for all the missionary enthusiasm of its members. There was some disappointment at the time that the appeals of the Society had not had any immediate result in eliciting offers of service in the mission field, but in after years several of the sons and daughters of the earlier members were to be found in the ranks of the missionaries in India and China.

Kenneth's early boyhood was that of a happy-hearted Highland

laddie, lithe of limb, healthy, strong and fearless; thinking very little of running a message for his father, who was a merchant in a small way, to Inverness and back, a distance of thirty miles. The lads of Glen Urquhart had many amusements, among which fighting and swimming seem to have been the chief. The Glen was divided into "the strath" and "the braes," socially as well as geographically, and between the inhabitants of these two divisions the feud was interminable, except when they made common cause against an outsider. Most of the gatherings at weddings and funerals ended in a fight, often with bloodshed, between the braes men and the strath men, and the youngsters fully shared the animosities of their seniors. Kenneth's fighting propensities seem to have been above the average, and when bigger lads felt time lie heavy on their hands, they always found it easy to provoke him to an encounter. They also used to set him on to harry wasps' nests, and in doing this he was often mercilessly stung.

Another boyish adventure which left a deep impression on his memory might very easily have left its mark elsewhere as well. The boys had got hold of a dead cat somewhere, and amused themselves at first by hurling it at one another. Then someone suggested that they might use it in playing a trick on the village blacksmith, who was, as a rule, a great friend of the boys and especially of Kenneth. The boys' plan was to take advantage of the time when the smith was engaged in heating his iron in the fire, with his back turned to them, to place the cat on his anvil. Having heated his iron to a white heat, the smith turned round with all possible haste to hammer it out before it had time to cool. Down came the iron and the hammer after it on the top of the dead cat, with results that can be better imagined than described. The smith, taking in the situation at once, rushed out of the smithy in a passion as white hot as his iron, brandishing the latter in his tongs and declaring that he would brand one of the young rascals for life. Kenneth, who had been put forward by the others to play the leading part in the game, rushed into a neighbouring house and crept underneath a bed. The smith followed hard after him but failed to find him. The smith was soon as thankful as Kenneth was that his pursuit had been unsuccessful. That night at family worship he fervently thanked God that he had neither maimed nor seared the boy, and the two were soon as good friends as they had been before.

The boys knew nothing of cricket or football, croquet or tennis,

badminton, billiards or card-playing. The leading man in the village did possess a "dam-board," and initiated another man into the play, but this was regarded as uncanny. But the absence of modern forms of amusement was never felt. Putting the stone, tossing the caber, and foot racing were popular and manly sports, to say nothing of "shinty," which was for long a favourite game in the north of Scotland before it became common elsewhere under the name of hockey. The Highland boys called it *camag* (club), and sometimes by playing it on the ice gave the game additional zest.[1] Skating and snow-balling in winter, ranging the woods for hazel nuts, blackberries, and other wild fruits in the autumn, or digging for earth-nuts, were additional amusements.

One form of physical exercise in which Kenneth excelled, as his father had before him, was swimming. The way in which he acquired this useful art was unusual. A boy much bigger than himself, who could not swim, used to enter the river with a bundle of bulrushes under each arm, by means of which he kept himself afloat while he paddled about in water beyond his depth. One day he invited Kenneth to accompany him, holding on by his waist. Nothing loth, Kenneth entered the water with him, and the two were soon off their feet. The bigger boy then began to kick out, to propel himself to the opposite bank, and so doing kicked his little companion free, and left him to sink or swim. With great presence of mind he determined to make an effort to save himself by swimming, and to his own surprise and delight he succeeded in doing so. He very soon became a very proficient swimmer. In his father's day a common amusement among the young men of the glen had been to throw a stone, fifteen or twenty pounds in weight, into a bathing pool twelve or fourteen feet deep, then to dive to the bottom and bring it up again. One day a young man dived after the stone in the usual way, and was seen by his companions to grasp it, but for some reason unknown he seemed to be unable to come to the surface. John Macdonald at once plunged after him, grasped him by the waist, and brought him to the surface along with the stone. The others then helped to bring both men to the bank. Young Kenneth and his companions' favourite bathing-place was neither in Loch Ness at the east end of the glen, nor in Loch Meigle at the west end, but in a large deep pool in the river Eneric, near their own village,

[1] In places in the west of Ross-shire New Year Day is still celebrated by a game of shinty, in which everyone, from grandfather to grandson, takes part.

and on the way to the nearest school. A romantic-looking rock rose from the deepest part, from the summit of which the ground stretched away to the fields. This afforded a level space, along which the boys used to run with all their might to gather sufficient momentum to carry them clear of the rock as they leapt into the river. A more risky feat was to turn somersault into the pool from one of the lower ledges of the rock. Once when Kenneth did this the rush of water into his nostrils stupefied him, and when he tried to rise to the surface he found himself floundering in one of the recesses which the river had "scoured" out at the base of the rock. With great difficulty he got clear and came to the surface, much to his own and his comrades' relief. The somersault trick was not repeated.

All Kenneth's swimming had been in fresh water; of the sea he had no experience till he went to school at Inverness, fifteen miles from his home. There he found himself much behind other boys in most respects, but he was proud of the fact that he could beat them all at swimming. One day he invited a companion, who could not swim, although he came from Glen Urquhart, to come down to the shore to witness his prowess. They went down to the Kessock Ferry, which separates Inverness from the Black Isle. It is a narrow channel leading from the sea to the Beauly Firth, in which, at times, the tide runs like a mill race; but Kenneth knew nothing about tides. Pointing to a buoy far out in the channel, he said he would swim out to that and back again with ease. He reached it without difficulty, and climbed to the top. He sat there till he was somewhat stiff with cold. On diving into the sea again, he swallowed some salt water; this was not in the programme, and it disconcerted him. What distressed him still more was to find that after swimming hard for the shore for some time he seemed to have made very little progress. The tide was against him, carrying him out to sea. He struggled with might and main, but several times sank to the bottom as his strength gave out. His friend screamed for help, but no help came, except from the strength of mind and body which God had given him and by which he was at last enabled to reach shallow water and walk ashore in a condition of thorough exhaustion.

A few years later he had an adventure at Maryburgh, near Dingwall, where he taught a school. Teachers and scholars used to bathe together in the Conan river. Kenneth one day undertook to teach one of his pupils, a lad taller than himself, to swim. To-

gether they entered the river, the teacher holding his pupil's head above the water. Suddenly they both floundered into a deep pool, of whose existence they had been ignorant, and as the pupil clutched hold of the teacher both went to the bottom. Several times Kenneth rose to the surface, only to be dragged down again by the pupil who clung round his neck. He realised that the safety of both depended upon his getting free of his burden, and by a strong effort he succeeded in doing this. The pupil sank again, but again came to the surface, when the teacher began at once to propel him towards the bank, taking good care to keep out of the way of his hands. The fact that the lad was now thoroughly exhausted and lying helpless in the water made this an easier task. When they got into shallower water some of the bigger schoolboys came to the rescue and all reached land in safety. On another occasion, some years later, Kenneth was standing on the pier at Fort William, waiting for the steamer from Corpach. A number of little boys were fishing from the pierhead. One of them, who could not swim, fell into the sea. Young Macdonald jumped after him at once, seized him, and held him up till both were rescued. The onlookers carried the rescuer shoulder-high to a neighbouring inn, where they supplied him with clothes till his own were dry.

The boys used to fish, not with rod or line, but by "guddling" or "paidling in the burn" with their fingers, or by the much less sportsmanlike plan of damming up the stream as it emerged from the loch, and gathering in the fish that were left at their mercy in the shallow pools. They knew it was illegal to go out with torches at night to spear the salmon and big trout, but it never occurred to them that it was a sin. "For were not the fish in the river, the trees on the hillside, and the grouse among the heather, the inalienable property of the Gael, the owner of the land from the days of Adam and Eve? To the trees planted by the proprietor we instinctively realised that we had no right; but it was altogether different with regard to trees of God's planting and of God's own raising."

Climbing up the ruined stone stairs of Castle Urquhart was another deed of daring to which the more adventuresome of the Glen Urquhart boys provoked each other. In later life the missionary confessed that his rashness had led him into many a scrape, and often exposed him to unnecessary danger, not only in the days of

his youth but sometimes at a more mature period, as once when he attempted to train an unbroken horse to buggy harness in the crowded streets of Calcutta.

Those were the days of the resurrectionist scare, and among the lad's early recollections was that of nights of vigil in the burying-ground, watching the graves of recently buried friends. On one occasion his companion much disgusted and dismayed him by falling asleep and snoring on a tombstone. This same man had the unenviable reputation of having been at one time a resurrectionist himself, and of carrying in his own body the shots, or the marks of the shots, fired into him as he was attempting to carry away a corpse. On another occasion he spent a long winter night in the same place with a young man. They had a little hut built, with a roaring fire in it, and an unlimited supply of whisky. They were supposed to keep an alternate watch on the graves from a window in the hut; but the young man spent the whole night trying to make Kenneth drunk, in order to worm out of him some information about a young girl whom he, the young man, was courting. He did not succeed, either in his immediate or his ulterior object.

In the autumn months Kenneth and the other lads amused themselves, and at the same time earned a little money, by taking service as gillies, chiefly with an English gentleman, Mr Palmer, who rented extensive grouse-shootings from the Earl of Seafield, He would tramp the Abriachan moors with his master in search of grouse, or the pasture lands in search of partridges, or the woods to the north end of Loch Ness for woodcocks or blackcocks, or beat the bush for hares and rabbits. At other times he accompanied large parties of deer-stalkers in the woods around his ancestral home at Shewglie. On one of these occasions his services were placed at the disposal of an English clergyman of a somewhat timid disposition. Together they crouched behind a large boulder while the forest was being beat for game. Soon they saw a magnificent stag advancing majestically straight towards them, a beautiful sight, and quite within range. The gillie looked to the Sassenach to fire, but no, he only trembled like an aspen leaf as he gazed spellbound at the stag. Macdonald whispered to him to fire, but the only response was a whispered "Not yet." Then the stag took a sudden turn to the left and was out of sight in a few seconds. Great was the young Highlander's mortification. They had missed the best

shot of the day; although several hinds were killed no one shot a stag, or even got such a chance as the clergyman had failed to take advantage of.

The scenes of drunkenness which the boys witnessed from earliest years, and in which some of them participated, form the only dark feature in an otherwise bright picture of childhood. Young Kenneth used to accompany other boys and girls and their poor mothers to the inn at Drumnadrochit to try to persuade drunken fathers and husbands to come home. He often witnessed sickening sights, the impression of which never left him. The extent to which drunkenness was indulged in at marriages, and even more so at funerals, was deplorable. Drinking was continued even at the grave, and it often led to fighting, when the parish minister, by a display of greater vigour than ever marked his pulpit administrations, would separate the combatants by sheer force and turn them out of the burying-ground. A near relative of Kenneth's met his death by falling over an unfenced bridge, while under the influence of drink, in a funeral procession. He was either killed by the fall or drowned in the boiling cauldron beneath. Kenneth himself was once at a funeral where the coffin had to be conveyed about fifteen miles. From the time the party began to assemble at the house, till it broke up in the burial-ground, twenty-three rounds of whisky were served. In addition to the inn already referred to, there was a large number of shebeens in the village and glen, where smuggled whisky was sold and drunk. The attention of the excise authorities was directed to these institutions without effect, and the suspicion was entertained that the excise officers were in collusion with the keepers of these houses. The Inverness carrier made no secret of the fact that he was involved in the illicit traffic.

John Macdonald, the father, smoked and also snuffed, considering it essential to hospitality that he should offer his silver-mounted mull to all-comers. But both parents were anxious that neither of their two boys should acquire the habit of using tobacco in any form. The boys, however, and their elder sister secretly resolved to test for themselves the desirability or otherwise of the accomplishment of smoking. Donald's was to be the *corpus vile* for this *experimentum*. The immediate effects were disastrous, but the ultimate, from the parents' point of view, highly satisfactory. Neither Donald nor Kenneth used tobacco again in any form during the rest of their lives, and fifty years after, the latter, in giving evidence before the

Opium Commission in Calcutta, said he would compare the evils of opium to those of tobacco in a somewhat greater degree. On the occasion just referred to, Donald, to shield his brother and sister, kept loyal to their mutual compact of secrecy, and carefully concealed from his parents the cause of his indisposition.

Boys reared in the city or born in wealthier homes might have some advantages, but none could desire a happier or healthier life than that which fell to the lot of our young Highlander. The recollection of the beauties that surrounded his early home was to him a life-long pleasure, and he was proud of his country and of his people. The free, open-air, active life, with plenty of hard work and plain but wholesome fare, enabled him to lay up a store of health and strength to be consecrated in God's good time to the highest purposes. Above all, he had to thank God for his godly parentage, for a father and a mother to whom the baptismal vow was not an empty formula, but a solemn obligation to regard their child as God's and by precept and example to teach him to love and serve Him.

CHAPTER II

SCHOOL AND COLLEGE

"Shon Campbell went to College
because he wanted to,
he left the croft at Gairloch
to dive in Bain and Drew;
.
.
"Shon Campbell went to College,
the pulpit was his aim;
by day and night he ground, for he
was Hielan, dour and game."

—W. A. Mackenzie.

Among Dr Macdonald's papers is a manuscript entitled "Education in the Highlands Fifty Years ago." It was evidently written either as a magazine article or a popular lecture, but there is no trace of it as a separate publication. From it most of the information in this chapter has been gathered. In other papers and letters there are references to a lecture on "Education in the Highlands in the Olden Times," by Mr William Mackay, Solicitor, Inverness, himself a Glen Urquhart man, and also to a book he wrote about twelve years ago on Glen Urquhart and Glen Moriston, the two neighbouring glens separated from each other by the hill Mealfourvournnie. Dr Macdonald read both book and lecture with much interest and they helped to refresh his own memories of early days. They are several times referred to in his papers relating to this period.

Kenneth Macdonald's first experience of school life was in his native village, where a school had been founded in 1732 by the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. The schoolmaster, Peter by name, also acted as amanuensis to John Macdonald, Kenneth's father, helped in the garden work, and was by trade a shoemaker. He was a passionate man, and, like most

of the dominies of the old school, a severe disciplinarian. The most vivid impression of his school left on the mind of at least one of his pupils was of the way in which his coat-tails used to dance as he wielded the tawse or cane. One day, while shoemaking, he carelessly broke his knife in the presence of some of his neighbours, who laughed at him. This so enraged him that he rose from his seat, threw off his apron, rushed down the stairs, out of the house and off to Inverness. Having there bought a new knife, he returned with equal haste, doing the thirty miles in less time than the fastest horse in the parish would have taken. A custom that prevailed in this as in most other Highland schools at that time and long afterwards, required every boy and girl to bring a peat to school in the morning during the winter months—and there was not much schooling except in the winter, when field work was suspended. The peats were stacked at the back of the master's desk, and in the ingle corners of the hearth, and served to keep up a roaring fire during the day. Another of the teacher's emoluments of a more personal kind was a potato field. He held it rent free, but had to cultivate it himself. All the bigger boys and girls willingly helped him in this work. At the proper season, armed with reaping hooks and ropes, they went off to the woods to cut down the brackens, which they tied up in bundles and carried to a level piece of ground near the school-house, which had previously been cleared. The brackens were spread out here, and on the top of them a layer of ashes, which had been collected during the preceding months, along with highly manured clods of earth or mud gathered from the gutters or drains by the sides of the roads. The "midden" thus formed was left to rot till the time for planting the potatoes approached. Then the bigger boys were furnished with spades and picks, with which they cut the mass in vertical slices and mixed it all together. After having been allowed to lie in this state for some time longer, it was carted to the field, where the pupils were again employed to distribute it along the furrows among the planted potatoes. All the other work that was required—cleaning or hoeing, or raising the earth round the growing plants—was done, and done very gladly, by the boys and girls, who found in this a congenial occupation and a welcome relief from the almost useless drudgery of the school. When his pupils were working in his potato field, the teacher looked after them; when they returned to their tasks in school he as a rule went off to his shoemaking.

It probably paid him better, and his absence was little loss to his scholars. Every boy and girl in the school spoke Gaelic and nothing but Gaelic, yet the school was supposed to be conducted in English. Their school books, including reading books, grammars, and dictionaries, were all in English, and for the most part unintelligible to them. But some of the more advanced pupils were able to understand a little English although not able to speak it, and they had to translate the lessons, word for word, with little reference to the structure or meaning of the sentences. Even the Gaelic dictated to them in these exercises was almost unintelligible to them, as it was "high" or "Bible Gaelic," and not the colloquial they used among themselves. Arithmetic, such as it was, was taught without a blackboard, and geography without maps, and generally the pupils were left to be guided in their studies by the light of nature.

It was a change for the better when Kenneth was removed from Peter's school and sent over the hills to the neighbouring parish of Kiltarlity, which is said to have been the last resort of the wild wolf in Scotland. His uncle William was teaching a school there and the nephew was placed under his care. His uncle treated him with the utmost kindness, taking a deep interest both in his studies and his amusements. But a schoolmaster's pay in those days and in those regions was about equal to that of a day labourer's, and, much to the boys' regret, after struggling on for a few months he left for England, never to return. Kenneth then went back to Glen Urquhart, and re-entered the school there, which was now under a new teacher. The following account of him is given in the pupil's own words :—

"My third teacher answers much to Dickens' Squeers in Dotheboys Hall. Mr Squeers could scarcely be chargeable with greater cruelty than this teacher of mine. I have experienced in my own body torture from him in the way of downright flogging until the blood streamed down to my feet, and I have seen others suffer in the same way, generally for no other reason than that they had not learned their lessons to his satisfaction, more especially the tasks to be committed to memory. I came in for flogging more than most others for two reasons; first, because my power of committing strings of words to memory has always been weak, as distinguished from remembering thoughts, ideas, arguments; secondly, because my teacher professed to cherish the highest regard for my father

and therefore felt bound to pay the greater attention to his boy. Many a time I, however, vowed that when I grew big and strong I would pay him back for all these inhuman floggings, to which I was cruelly subjected. I have no doubt he was conscientious in it all. For he, in many instances, punished himself in punishing us, when he shut us up in the dark, locking the doors and putting the shutters on the windows; and he had to come back somewhat long distances to let us out. He was anxious, I have no doubt, that we should learn our lessons; but he took the wrong way. Besides, the circumstances, in which we were severally placed, were utterly unfavourable to all study in our homes; not to speak of the fact that all our school books were in English, and not a sentence could we understand. Of course it was part of his duty to teach us English. Here also he took the wrong way. Quoting the words of a contemporary Glen Urquhart boy:[1] 'The teacher made it his first duty, after the opening prayer, to hand to one of the boys a roughly carved piece of wood which was called the *tessera*. The boy transferred it to the first pupil who was heard speaking Gaelic. That offender got rid of it by delivering it to the next, who in his turn placed it in the hand of the next again. And so the *tessera* went round without ceasing. At the close of the day it was called for by the teacher. The child who happened to possess it was severely flogged, and then told to hand it back to the one from whom he had received it. The latter was dealt with in the same manner; and so the dreaded *tessera* retraced its course with dire consequences to all who had ventured to express themselves in the only language they knew.' Another habit of his was, while sitting in his box by the fireside, to look up from his desk all over the school, to see if any boy or girl was talking. On observing such, he flung with unerring aim the leathern tawse at the head of the offending child, who had at once to get possession of the tawse and hand it to the irate teacher, and then and there receive a flogging. The tawse was on its errands, but never of mercy, all the day long."

What Kenneth seems to have resented most bitterly, and very naturally, was that the teacher seemed to hold his elder sister responsible for her brother's delinquencies, and visited them upon her with the same cruelty which he meted out to the real culprit. He says again: "On my growing up to years of maturity, I

[1] Presumably Mr William Mackay.

thoroughly forgave the schoolmaster as far as his cruelty to myself was concerned, but I could not forgive his cruelty to his own wife and children. He ruled them with a rod of iron, but he could not rule his own passions, or his appetites, with the result that he brought ruin upon himself." Of the wife here referred to he relates one slight reminiscence. On meeting him one day before she was married, she patted him on the head and said, "Kenneth, be ambitious." He ran home at once to get a dictionary to find out the meaning of "ambitious." It was not until he was twelve years old that he really began to learn to speak English, which to the end of his life he continued to regard as a foreign language. Gaelic alone was spoken in the home and preached in the church.

When Kenneth was eleven years old, the Disruption in the Church of Scotland took place, and the Free Church was formed. The memories of the event in Glen Urquhart were not of an inspiring kind. Locally the "disruption" had taken place some time before the historic 18th May 1843. The parish minister was not only a moderate of moderates in the matter of doctrine; he was also believed to be living a grossly immoral life, and the congregation refused to enter the church. They secured the services of an evangelical preacher, but the minister exercised his legal power of interdicting him from holding services within the bounds of the parish. The minister of the neighbouring parish on one side was equally hostile. The people were led, in these circumstances, to adopt the plan of assembling for worship on the banks of the stream that formed the boundary between the two parishes. The "tent," a wooden pulpit with a roof to it, such as is commonly used in the Highlands at the large open-air services at communion seasons, was erected in mid-stream, so that it could not be said to be within either of the two parishes. From it the preacher discoursed to a large congregation assembled on both sides of the burn. There might be a few sheep grazing on the hillside, but no human habitation was in sight. This spot was five miles from the Macdonalds' home, but that was but a short distance for them to walk for the privilege of hearing the Gospel preached in its purity. Parents and children tramped the whole distance there and back in all weathers. The parish which adjoined theirs in the other direction was occupied by an evangelical minister. It so happened that in a part of his parish bordering on Glen Urquhart there was an old burying-ground. Occasionally he held an open-air service there,

for the benefit of the Glen Urquhart people, when the old tombstones were utilised both as pulpit and pews.

Steps were taken by Kenneth's father and others to bring the *fama scandalosa* regarding their minister before the Presbytery. After some delay that body was compelled to take it up, but before any progress had been made, the Disruption occurred. With the single exception of the local landed proprietor, the congregation to a man joined the Free Church, the proceedings against the minister were dropped by the Presbytery, and he was left to enjoy the "temporalities" in peace, with the laird and his household to preach to. The excitement in the parish was intense, and young Kenneth entered into all the proceedings "with great enthusiasm and no little intelligence"; one of the incidents which he recalled with pride in after-days was that it was he who signed a document declaring her adherence to the Free Church in the name of his pious but illiterate grandmother. Owing to the action of the laird in siding with the Establishment, the tenants were for some time in fear of being evicted from their farms or crofts.

There had been a prophecy current in the parish that the Gospel would not be preached in its purity till "the fourth James" filled the pulpit. The discredited minister was the third of that name who had held the living in succession. A fellow-pupil of Kenneth's, who was a few years his senior and a bit of a wag, made his way to the pulpit of the empty church one Sabbath morning before the minister had arrived, and proclaimed himself as "James the fourth." For this piece of effrontery he had to flee to the woods and remain in hiding for several months, for the representatives of law and order were much incensed. Years afterwards Kenneth Macdonald came across this same individual one night in Glasgow studying his Greek grammar under the light of a lamp-post. He was a student by day, and was working his way by acting as a watchman by night.

Not the least of the benefits which the Disruption brought to many parts of the Highlands, were better schools than they had had before. In the Free Church Congregational School which was opened in Glen Urquhart, Kenneth spent two years very happily and profitably. The teacher was Mr Angus Smith, a man whom Kenneth learned to love, and who seems to have been the first to initiate him into the intricacies of English grammar. A new church was of course soon built, and a new minister called to

occupy it; but for some time the debt was a burden both to the congregation and their pastor. It was the rule in the school that on Monday morning the children, in addition to repeating an answer from the Shorter Catechism and some metrical verses of the Psalms of David as on other mornings, had to give their "notes" or recollections of the minister's discourses on the previous day. On one occasion a long, lanky scholar, when called upon to do this, drew himself up to his full height, stretched out his closed fist in a most threatening attitude towards the teacher, and cried out with energy, "This is the fist into which not a farthing of your supplement will go till the debt is paid." It is hardly necessary to explain that the ministers of the Free Church received by way of salary a dividend from the common Sustentation Fund, to which all the congregations contributed. In addition to this, those congregations, who were able to do so, gave their ministers a "supplement."

Mr Angus Smith did his best to teach his pupils singing as well as everything else. Only the Psalms of David were sung, of course. Dr Macdonald's papers refer to a practice which Mr William Mackay alluded to in his lecture. It was considered that to be always using the Psalms in practice, even in the practice of Psalm tunes, savoured of irreverence. The teachers, therefore, were in the habit of composing rhymes of their own in the same metre as the Psalms, to be used only for practice. Dr Macdonald well remembered some of the examples quoted by Mr Mackay. They were in Gaelic, but one or two specimens, done into English, were as follows :—

"With mashed potatoes and good milk
May I be filled for aye,
With them we feed; them shall I 'joy
Until my dying day."

Another was :—

"St Paul he was a faithful man,
Although of stature low.
He did the Gospel boldly preach
Wherever he did go."

In some cases the teacher, with considerable ingenuity, composed one of these "dummy" Psalms with special reference to the tune it was to be sung to. For example :—

"Come, let us sing the tune of *French*,
The second measure low,
The third ascending very high,
The fourth doth downward go."

Although the Paraphrases could not be sung in divine service, there was no objection to the children singing them, as they did the "human compositions" of their uninspired teacher, in school during the week, in order to practise the Psalm tunes. Thus for the cheerful tune of *Coleshill* a correspondingly cheerful accompaniment was found in the first verse of the fourth Paraphrase :—

"How still and peaceful is the grave !
Where, life's vain tumults past,
Th' appointed house, by Heav'n's decree,
Receives us all at last."

Other favourites were the first verses of the eighth Paraphrase, beginning :—

"Few are thy days, and full of woe,
O man, of woman born !
Thy doom is written, 'Dust thou art,
And shalt to dust return ;"

and of the eleventh, which was calculated to impart a somewhat more roseate view of life :—

"O happy is the man who hears
Instruction's warning voice ;
And who celestial Wisdom makes
His early, only choice."

Kenneth reached a still higher round in the educational ladder when he began to spend the long autumn holidays, which the country schools enjoyed during the harvest season, by going into Inverness to attend classes there. Still later he was able to spend half a session in 1849-50 at the Free Church Institution in the same town. The headmaster at that time was Mr Thomas Morrison, afterwards Dr Morrison, who was for many years Rector of the Free Church Training College in Glasgow, where he died, highly honoured and beloved, in 1898. He was a member of one of those north country families with a genius for education, and possessed in a rare degree the power of winning the confidence and

affection of his pupils. Several of his brothers rose to high positions in the educational world, in Scotland and in the colonies. Short as was the time spent under his tuition, Kenneth learned much from him, and cherished a life-long feeling of gratitude to him for what he owed him. Another member of the teaching staff in the same institution was Mr Mackenzie, the father of the Rev. H. L. Mackenzie, of the English Presbyterian Mission at Swatow.

An incident in those Inverness days helped, with others already referred to, to deepen Kenneth's convictions regarding the evils of intemperance. A party of lads and lasses, Kenneth among them, were on their way home from Inverness to the Glen. Half-way, at Lochend, there was an inn, where they halted for refreshments. These consisted of bread and cheese, and the indispensable whisky. One of the girls offered Kenneth a glass of whisky, which he declined, with thanks. She then threw the contents of the glass in his face. No wonder that he describes himself as having been even at this early age "utterly dissatisfied with our drinking customs and strongly inclined to have as little as possible to do with them."

There is no record of any definite resolve at this stage of his career to devote himself to the work of the Christian ministry, or even to acquire a University degree. He seems to have been carried on from step to step in his desire to secure as good an education as possible. The more he learned the more he wished to learn. The next step was to go to Aberdeen, the nearest University town, and to enter the Grammar School. To attain any distinction in the University, or even to qualify for the ordinary degree, a knowledge of the classical languages was essential, and above all some proficiency in Latin prose. In the Bursary and other prize competitions an altogether disproportionate number of marks were assigned to the "version," as it was called, the translation of an English passage into Latin. Any student who had not been thoroughly drilled in this kind of exercise was badly handicapped throughout his college course. The Grammar School of Aberdeen had long been famed for its Latinity. There was a tradition of a time when its pupils spoke nothing but Latin, and for many years afterwards Latin continued to be the one subject taught within its walls.[1] When Kenneth Macdonald joined the

[1] The rule was Latin, *semper, ubique et ab omnibus*. See Dr W. G. Blaikie's "Life of Principal Brown."

school it was renowned all over Scotland on account of its Headmaster, Dr Melvin, the Latin scholar and grammarian, who, if he had received his due, would have been Professor of Latin in the University. Kenneth cannot have spent a very lengthy period in the school, for he matriculated as an Arts student in King's College, Aberdeen, at the beginning of the winter session in 1851.

He gained distinction in the classes of Chemistry and Mathematics and took the degree of M.A. in 1855. Throughout his Arts course in Aberdeen he taught a school in his native village; for, during all the ten years of his student life, at Aberdeen and Edinburgh, he had to support himself. His father was most willing to help him, but had not the means. It was during his Arts course that his deep impressions on the subject of intemperance crystallized into definite and life-long convictions. At that time there was a Dr Wilson in Aberdeen, who was doing a good work among the slums in the east-end of the town, and who, like all home mission workers, felt compelled to carry on a crusade against intemperance as the most prolific cause of poverty and crime. During the Christmas vacation in his first session, Kenneth Macdonald, not caring to join in the festivities to which his fellow-students had given themselves up, remained in his lodgings, intent on his studies. The son of his landlady offered him a ticket for a *soirée* in connection with Dr Wilson's Mission, which he had bought at half-price from a friend who had found that he could not use it. Kenneth accepted the gift, and in his own words, "I went, I saw, and heard, and I was conquered heart and soul to the temperance cause, from which I have never wavered since." On going home to Glen Urquhart at the close of the session, he found that during the winter one of the lecturers in connection with the Scottish Temperance League had visited the Glen, and had induced a number of his friends to become total abstainers. Among these was his brother Donald. The two brothers set themselves to the task, by no means easy in those days, of forming a Temperance Society in the Glen. They received the help of a friend, Mr Mackay, and also, to some extent, of their excellent minister, the Rev. Alexander Macdonald. There was a clause, however, in the constitution of the pioneer society which, in the light of subsequent experience, was seen to be a flaw. Members on joining pledged themselves to abstain only for a year. It proved in too many cases

that this period of abstinence, like the Mohammedans' fast at Ramzan, was just the prelude to outbursts of excess. The minister, good and wise man though he was, never saw his way clear to giving a hearty and unequivocal acceptance to the principles of total abstinence, and when on the approach of winter the two Macdonald brothers left for college, the society languished and never regained much vigour. It was during these student days that Kenneth Macdonald crossed Loch Ness to attend a communion service at Stratherrick, where he heard the presiding minister, one of the ablest and most powerful preachers in the North, solemnly debar from the Lord's Table all teetotalers, whom he described as "swine with rings in their snouts, to prevent them burrowing in the earth, their natural element." The reverend gentleman's imagery was somewhat obscure, but his meaning was sufficiently plain.

It was about the same time that the future missionary had his first taste of another controversy, in which in later years and in a different climate he was to wield his claymore to the confusion of the enemies of truth. His elder and favourite sister, Betsy, four and a half years older than himself, had married and settled at Glenfintaig in Lochaber, at the other end of the Caledonian Canal, and there the two brothers used to visit her and her husband in the long summer vacations. There is a belt of the Highlands, stretching right across Scotland, from the Outer Hebrides in the West to the Beauly Firth in the East, to which the Reformation movement has never yet penetrated. Round about Lochaber there was and is a strong Roman Catholic element in the population. Although there were many of the same persuasion in the glens near Glen Urquhart, it was in Lochaber that Kenneth first came into contact with living Roman Catholics, and many a warm but friendly discussion he had with them as they worked together at haymaking or in the harvest field. On one occasion, however, under the influence of whisky on one side, the argument became unpleasantly warm. A neighbour of Mrs Gollan, as Betsy Macdonald was now named, had died, and on such occasions it was the local custom, by no means confined to the Roman Catholics, for the friends to gather in the house of the deceased for a wake, on the pretext of keeping a watch over the corpse till the burial. Like all other social functions, these "wakes" were the scene of much hard drinking. To this particular "wake" Kenneth Macdonald went, attended by his sister's ploughman. The house was full of Roman Catholics, most of whom

were of the Cameron clan, which predominated among the people of Lochaber.[1] After a good deal of whisky had been drunk and oatcake and cheese eaten, the ploughman was foolish enough to start the Roman Catholic *versus* Protestant controversy. The majority expressing strong anti-Protestant opinions, young Macdonald felt bound to defend the faith, with the result that he was threatened with personal violence. But there were, fortunately for him, a good sprinkling of Macdonalds present. They were all Roman Catholics, but the clan feeling proved stronger than the sectarian. When things had become very alarming, a tall, big-boned Macdonald rose up and declared at the top of his voice that if any Macdonald blood were shed it would be avenged. At the same time, some of the other Macdonalds hurried Kenneth and the ploughman off the premises, and conveyed them on their homeward way till they were beyond danger.

In the students' societies, which are always a feature of University life, and to which many men in after years have felt that they owed at least as much as to the more formal teaching of the classroom, Kenneth does not seem to have taken the prominent part which a knowledge of his delight in dialectics might have led us to anticipate. Still, he did attend the debating society while an Arts student, and on at least one occasion evidently made an impression. When he was at home in 1899, and attending the General Assembly, he recognised in a prominent minister of the Church an old fellow-student of his Aberdeen days, whom he had not seen for over forty-five years. "You do not remember me, Mr ——?" he said to him. "Don't I?" was the reply; "Why, I remember distinctly how you defended the Gaelic at King's College." The one society in which Kenneth Macdonald did take an active interest was the Celtic. There was a University Celtic Society at Aberdeen, and another at Edinburgh. It was with the latter that he was more intimately associated. This Society met weekly, when either an essay was read, which was followed by a discussion, or a debate was conducted. The proceedings were carried on in Gaelic and English on alternate nights. One of the

[1] A well-known local story tells of a benighted traveller who, on finding his way to a village in Lochaber, tried in vain to get any response to his appeals for shelter. "Are there *no* Christians in this place?" he asked of a head that appeared at last at a window. "No," was the response as the head withdrew and the window closed, "we are all Camerons."

documents which Dr Macdonald most carefully preserved was a parchment conferring upon him the honorary membership of this Society, of which he was in his day first Secretary and then President. It is in Gaelic, and certifies that the Society, "having carefully considered the abilities, learning, progress in the study of the Gaelic language, and the many excellent qualities of our friend, Mr Kenneth Macdonald, M.A., Glen Urquhart, grant him the title of Honorary Member of the Celtic Society of the University of Edinburgh, and give him the right to use and employ the above-mentioned title whenever and wheresoever he pleases."[1] It is dated 27th March 1861, and bears the signatures of the President, Michael Watt, M.A., who became a professor in New Zealand, and the Secretary, George Macdonald, who was afterwards and for many years the minister of the Gaelic Free Church congregation in Aberdeen. Gaelic, in fact, seems to have been the only language for which he had much enthusiasm as a language, however much he appreciated English as a means of acquiring knowledge and culture.

It was also while he was a student in Aberdeen that a still more powerful influence was brought to bear upon his life. The work which Dr Duff—upon whom Marischal College had conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity ere he was thirty years old—accomplished in Scotland was hardly less remarkable than his achievements in India. During his first furlough, in 1835-39, he had set himself the task of visiting every one of the seventy-one Presbyteries of the Church in the interests of Foreign Missions. In his second long furlough, from 1850 to 1855, he pleaded the cause he loved in every congregation, large or small, of the Free Church of Scotland. Among those who heard him in the course of this campaign was Kenneth Macdonald. He listened to him at Aberdeen, as, with his usual power and almost irresistible eloquence, he pled for men for missionary work in India. Not only was it then that Kenneth Macdonald resolved that if he received a call to go to India as a missionary of Christ he would not refuse it; but, as we shall see later, he regarded that occasion as a definite landmark in his spiritual life.

In 1856, to qualify himself for entering the theological course, he passed the Board Examination in Glasgow, and the Presbyterial Examination at Dingwall, where Dr John Kennedy, the Clerk to the

[1] For the translation of this document the writer is indebted to Mr John Jack, M.A. of the Wilson College, Bombay.

Presbytery, was his principal examiner. He entered the New College, Edinburgh, the same year, but as he was compelled by his teaching engagements to miss the session of 1857-58, he did not finish till 1861. Dr Bannerman, Dr Smeaton and "Rabbi" Duncan were the professors in those days, but the man who made by far the deepest impression upon Macdonald, and of whom he always spoke afterwards in terms of great affection, was the Principal, Dr William Cunningham. Among his fellow-students were an exceptionally large number of men who have since become famous. William Miller, who followed him to India, to do a great work in Madras, was one of them.

After graduating in Aberdeen, Mr Macdonald had taken charge of a large and successful school at Maryburgh, in Ross-shire. In those days actual experience in teaching and an inspection of the results as shown by the school qualified a teacher for a certificate, just as a course at a Normal Training College and the passing of the examinations do now. The teacher had first to conduct a school to the satisfaction of the Inspector for three years. Then the Inspector held a special examination of a practical kind, and if his report was favourable, a certificate was awarded by the Scottish Education Department. New regulations came in with the Education Act of 1872, which established School Boards. It was while he was in Maryburgh that Mr Macdonald earned his certificate and acquired the rank of a fully qualified teacher. In order to retain his appointment as a teacher, the student had either to find a substitute for the winter session or to neglect his own studies. In 1859 a new regulation was made by the Education Department, forbidding teachers to appoint substitutes. This made it necessary for a teacher situated as Mr Macdonald was to choose between the alternative of making teaching, for the time at least, his proper profession, or of resigning his appointment. Mr Macdonald decided in favour of the latter course, trusting to being able to find some other means of support during the rest of his theological course.

It was about this time, apparently, that Mr Macdonald had an interview with Mr John Hope of Edinburgh, a man of great wealth, who lived in the utmost simplicity, but spent his money lavishly upon the anti-Popery and temperance causes. He bequeathed about £400,000 to the former cause, believing that it was less popular than the latter, and equally deserving. Night schools were at this time among his philanthropic schemes, and young Mac-

donald thought he might obtain employment in one of them. "I wrote to him," he writes. "He invited me to one of his porridge-breakfasts, supplied me with temperance tracts, and prayed very briefly, but very explicitly, for a blessing on me, on the porridge, and on the tracts." Nothing further seems to have come of this interview. But work of a very congenial nature was awaiting him, which would allow him to devote the winter months to his classes, and provide him with an income sufficient to enable him to finish the curriculum without pecuniary aid from his father.

CHAPTER III

TEMPERANCE SECRETARY AND PROBATIONER

"Even on the low ground of common-sense I seemed to be called to be a missionary. Is the kingdom a harvest field? Then I thought it reasonable that I should seek to work where the work was most abundant and the labourers fewest. Labourers say they are overtaxed at home; what then must be the case abroad, where there are wide-stretching plains already white to harvest, with scarcely here and there a solitary reaper? To me the soul of an Indian seemed as precious as the soul of an Englishman, and the Gospel as much for the Chinese as for the European; and as the band of missionaries was few compared with the company of home ministers, it seemed to me clearly to be my duty to go abroad. . . . Apart altogether from choice and other lower reasons, my going forth is a matter of obedience to a plain command; and in place of seeking to assign a reason for going abroad, I would prefer to say that I have failed to discover any reason why I should stay at home."—GILMOUR *of Mongolia.*

"The mass of even our best Christians still look on the foreign field as of only secondary concern—at least as only work for a devoted few, but not for all. The continental idea 'of every citizen a soldier' is the true watchword for the Church and Missions."—MACKAY *of Uganda.*

IN 1849 the Free Church Temperance Society had been formed in Edinburgh. Its originators were the Rev. George Ogilvie of Maryculter, a young minister of high promise, who died early, and Mr John M. Douglas of Cupar-Fife, a brother of Dr Carstairs Douglas of China and of Principal G. C. M. Douglas of Glasgow. For the first manifesto the names of only five abstaining ministers could be obtained, while abstaining elders were still more hard to find. A second appeal brought out three more ministers, and the Society considered it had done well when before the end of the year it could show a roll-book containing the signatures of thirty-three ministers. The list, short as it is, includes many well-known names, —Henry Grey, Thomas Guthrie, William Arnot, William C. Burns among them. The constitution was worded with great care and moderation. After stating that "the excessive use of intoxicating

liquors is the chief occasion of crime, poverty, disease and degradation among the people," it ventured to affirm that "abstinence from intoxicating liquors is plainly lawful on Christian principles." It went on to define its own position thus: "Without condemning the restricted use of intoxicating liquors as necessarily and in itself sinful, this Society is formed of persons who feel constrained publicly and unitedly to practise and promote abstinence on the ground of Christian expediency, at least in the present state of society around them." Membership did not involve the signing of a pledge, but depended on the mere statement of the fact that the member was an abstainer, and was willing to help in the promotion of temperance.

At first the Society limited its efforts to the gathering together of ministers and office-bearers who were either abstainers already or willing to become abstainers. It then advanced to more aggressive work, and this rendered necessary the appointment of a paid Secretary. The first to be appointed was Mr John Mackay, who died, early in life, as a missionary on the Euphrates. Kenneth Macdonald succeeded him in the autumn of 1858, and held the office till he was licensed to preach in the spring of 1861. The salary was £20 for the winter session, and £6 per month, with travelling expenses, during the rest of the year. It was not a princely income, but it was sufficient, such is the Spartan simplicity of Scottish student life, to pay for food, clothes and lodging, college fees and books. The duties of the Secretary were, to attend the office at York Place during the session, to answer letters, write minutes, arrange for meetings, despatch endless pamphlets and tracts by post, and also to collect subscriptions. It was inevitable that such duties should interfere with his studies; and as he had gone to college knowing no Greek and entered the theological hall ignorant of Hebrew (mainly owing to the Hebrew chair having been vacant in Aberdeen University during his last session there), the student felt that he had still a good deal of leeway to make up. But necessity knew no law. He had to earn his support, and he felt he could not do it in a better way than by work like this, with which he was heart and soul in sympathy, which brought him into close contact with some of the best people in the Church, and which gave him a thorough training in business methods. On Saturday he usually went over to Cupar-Fife to visit Mr Douglas, and as a rule spent the Sunday with him. Professors Miller and Sir J. Y. Simpson and Dr Guthrie were among those

who helped the Society most by speech and pen. Messrs J. Burn Murdoch, John Cowan of Valleyfield, and James Cunningham, W.S., were among the prominent laymen who supported it. There was also a Ladies' Committee in Edinburgh, of which Lady Emma Campbell and Lady Foulis were the leading spirits. To it also Mr Macdonald acted as Secretary.

During the summer months "the world was all before him, where to choose"—within the limits, as a rule, of Scotland and the Free Church. He got *carte blanche* to go where he pleased and do what he liked, provided only it was for the promotion of those objects for which the Society existed. The main lines on which he was recommended to work were to systematically visit the various parts of the country, to advocate the cause of total abstinence among ministers and office-bearers of the Free Church. He could do this either by holding meetings or by personal visits, whichever he thought the better plan. As a rule he preferred the latter method, as the more effective but by no means the easier of the two; but he did not entirely neglect the former. He took full advantage of this roving commission, and not only tramped the country, usually book in hand, from John o' Groats to Maidenkirk, walking on an average twenty miles a day, for six days a week, but extended his journeys to the Orkney Islands and to a considerable area in the North of England. Two summers, those of 1859 and 1860, were spent very happily but laboriously in this way, and his actual experience convinced him that the results of the work would in the end be more far-reaching and permanent if his main efforts were directed to the enlisting of ministers and office-bearers in the cause by means of personal appeals. His brother Donald was associated with him in this work, and afterwards succeeded him in the secretaryship. The Directors of the Society have left it on record that at no period did the Society make more gratifying progress than during the years when Mr Mackay and the Macdonald brothers were in succession its Secretaries.

A careful record of most of his journeys still exists in a neatly written diary in faded ink, forty-five years old.

The first of the two summers was devoted to Fife, Kinross, Clackmannan, Stirling, Perth, Kincardine, Inverness, Nairn, Elgin, Aberdeen, the Orkneys,—he did not succeed in his attempt to reach the Shetlands, owing to bad weather,—Caithness, Sutherland, and Ross; then he returned along the East coast to Inverness and

Fort Augustus, crossed the Corryarrick mountain and walked down the Spey from its source to Fochabers, near its mouth. Thence he went by way of Banff to Aberdeen, where his tour ended on 4th November. At Banff he was much interested in the account given to him by two ladies he met there of the work their brother, a Free Church minister and a zealous abstainer, was doing in Sleat, in Skye, where he had induced all the members of his congregation to join the Temperance Society. This was the Rev. John S. Macphail, afterwards of Kilmuir, Skye, and still later of Benbecula. During the latter part of his tour, the Secretary had often to make his way knee-deep in snow that obliterated the roads, and in face of bitter winds and driving storms of rain or sleet. All the way from the Pentland Firth to Aberdeen was done on foot, except the short journey by steamer from Temple Pier on Loch Ness to Fort Augustus.

The tours in 1860 began with the congregations up the Esk, from Musselburgh to Penicuik, down the Tweedside from Peebles to Melrose, and up the Yarrow and Ettrick water—the very names are music to Scottish ears—to Moffat. It is apparent from the frequency of his quotations from and references to Scott that he was Kenneth Macdonald's favourite poet, and if he was as familiar with his works then as he was afterwards when he taught them to his students in Calcutta, the charm of romantic interest and stirring association must have added greatly to the pleasure of his wanderings in the border country. He must surely have turned aside from his way to visit Abbotsford, and the Abbeys of Dryburgh and Melrose; but he makes no mention of them in his diary. After returning to Edinburgh for office work, he visited some congregations in Fife, which he had not been able to overtake in the previous year, then made his way north by Stirling, Doune and Callander, to Kilmonivaig and Glen Urquhart. From there he posted a copy of one of the Society's favourite publications, Professor Miller's *Alcohol, its Place and Power*, with reports and tracts, to all the foreign missionaries and colonial ministers of the Church. He was joined in Glen Urquhart by his brother, and together they made an effort, with some success, to resuscitate the local Total Abstinence Society. Deputation work was resumed in the South in September. Most of the congregations in the Presbyteries of Haddington and Dunbar, Duns, Chirnside and Kelso were visited. From Stow and Lauder he went on to Berwick-on-

Tweed, visiting Westruther and Greenlaw on the way. From Berwick-on-Tweed he visited the English congregations along the south bank of the Tweed as far as Coldstream. Returning to the sea he went down the East coast to Warenford, struck across country to Wooler, and back to Kelso. Starting off again through Jedburgh and Hawick, Langholm and Canobie, he made another raid upon England, visiting Carlisle, Brankston Hall, Netherby, Longton, Penrith, Ulleswater, Ambleside, Windermere, Kendal, Kirkby, Lonsdale, Bradford (where he visited his uncle William), Manchester and Liverpool. Taking steamer he returned to Kirkcudbright, which was a centre from which more expeditions radiated, south again as far as Liverpool and east to Lockerbie. His last meeting for the season was held at Ecclefechan, known to the world as the birthplace of Thomas Carlyle, but in Kenneth Macdonald's eyes even more sacred as the native village of his revered teacher, Angus Smith. On 24th October he returned to office work in Edinburgh. In the districts which have been named he was not able to visit all the congregations, but only those which were more accessible, or which he had various other reasons for selecting. In all, 110 congregations were visited in 1860, and about the same number in 1859.

The reception he met with varied considerably. He noted with some surprise that it was, on the whole, more cordial in the North than in the South. The reader may be disposed to conclude that as he had owed his safety among the Roman Catholics of Lochaber to his being a Macdonald, although a Protestant, he was welcomed in the northern manses as a Highlander rather than as a total abstainer. He himself did not accept this explanation. Nearly all the ministers he visited in 1859 subscribed to the funds of the Society, and invited him to partake of their hospitality. Of those visited in 1860, only one in seven was a member, and he slept in a Free Church manse only thrice in the six months. Once he was compelled to spend the night in a common lodging-house, paying threepence for his bed. The excuses some ministers gave for not joining the Society make curious reading. One described himself as an abstainer, but said that his medicinal use of alcohol was so very frequent that he did not consider it expedient to join. Besides, he would have no influence with the farmers, of whom his congregation was entirely composed, if he became an abstainer, especially as he knew nothing about agriculture himself, and had to

rely upon social intercourse for keeping in touch with his flock. But he gave five shillings to the funds. Another who *was* a member, explained that he still drank ale and porter as "refreshments," always taking a glass of Bass's ale along with another member of the Society after a meeting of Presbytery, and drinking porter when he felt tired. As he felt that he could not call this use of liquor "medicinal," he thought his name ought to be removed from the roll. The Secretary thought so too. Porter seemed to be the moderate drinker's last ditch; several were willing to become abstainers if an exception could be made in its favour. Another minister thoroughly approved of the Society's principles, and recognised the necessity of advocating them, but excused himself from joining on the plea that his manse was so near the public road that a great many people were always calling, and he considered it his duty to be hospitable. His only idea of hospitality was to give his visitors a dram and to partake along with them. Some had got the length of not giving drink, but still took it when it was offered to them. Of course some of those whom he asked to join the Society asked him if he thought they were drunkards. In one manse the minister's wife told him that no respectable minister would join such a Society. The Secretary quietly produced his book and asked her if she recognised the last signature in it. It was that of her father, the minister in a neighbouring parish, of whom he had made a convert the night before. This entirely changed the situation; he was welcomed to the house, and before he left, the names of the lady and her husband were below her father's on the roll of members. Once he spent a Communion Sunday in a manse in the far South, where two ministers were assisting. After the services of the day were over, the three officiating ministers, the Secretary and five elders sat down to dinner. No wine was on the table, but as soon as the elders left, it was produced in abundance. The minister explained, in reply to the Secretary's inquiry, that this was because four of the elders were abstainers, but now that they were gone the Temperance Secretary was in a minority of one. Besides, had not the ministers earned their wine by their greater exertions during the day? He had many other experiences that strengthened him in his conviction that the work he represented was one of the utmost urgency. He found that as a general rule the ministers' wives were more sympathetic than their husbands, but many of them said they

would only join the Society on the condition that their husbands did likewise. He did not meet any ministers who were willing to become members if their wives did the same.

The following are some extracts from the Secretary's diary :—

"I had a late tea (Aug. 2nd, 1859) in the Free Church manse at Monzie, and set out at 7.30 P.M. resolved, if possible, to breakfast next morning at Kenmore. The inn where I intended to sleep was eight miles off, at Corrymuck Loch, at the head of Loch Tay. The scenery was most Highland and romantic, and included a spot pointed out as the grave of Ossian, the ancient bard of Scotland. The inn, a large commodious building, was situated on the top of a bleak, bare moorland, and intended chiefly for the accommodation of drovers of sheep and cattle. On arriving at 11 o'clock, I was shown into a bedroom with four beds in it, one of which was occupied by a stranger. I was up at 5.15 next morning, and had twelve or fourteen miles before me before I could sit down to breakfast in the Kenmore Hotel. After a good deal of bell-ringing I failed in waking the servant girl; so at last, accompanied by another man, I went to her bedside in the kitchen. He took the liberty of wakening her on my account. I asked her what I had to pay, or in other words for my bill, all in Gaelic. She replied that I knew best myself. I told her that I was quite ignorant and knew nothing about it. She then inquired, 'What had I?' I told her, 'Nothing.' 'Then nothing to pay,' said she. 'But,' I replied, 'I had a good sleep on a comfortable bed.' She was quite nonplussed and amazed at the idea of my paying when I had nothing, more especially nothing to drink. However, we compromised matters by my giving a sixpence for herself. I suppose my talking in Gaelic, and not in the language of the rich Englishman, had something to do with there being no charge for the bed. The place is so lonely that during five miles of the way to Kenmore not a house was to be seen and not a wayfarer met. The character of the day—wind blowing like a hurricane and rain pouring like a flood—may account for there being no wayfarers to be seen. I arrived at Kenmore wet to the skin, and had to wait at the fireside in the inn before I could make the call on the Free Church minister."

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"The minister's house [in a totally different part of the country from that referred to in the last extract] was the most uncomfortable

manse in which I found a Free Church minister living. It was, to begin with, in a very exposed part of the country, cold and dreary; a one-story building, roofed by deals overlapping each other, passing between which the winds howl and whistle. The reception room in which we dined had no carpet, no sofa, no rug of any kind on the floor. The chairs were all deal-bottomed. To make up for a sofa, the minister had two chests or trunks on one side of the room. On the opposite side was a chest of drawers in which his books were packed, some of them soiled with the rain-drops which leaked through the roof, drops which had left their furrows yellow with smoke on the walls of the room. Yet the clerical tenant of this so-called manse, seemed not only pleased, contented, but also exceedingly hearty, and I would almost say jovial; and very hospitable. Altogether I was greatly pleased with the man, and what added to the pleasure, he readily joined our Society. I was, however, amused with the girl's refusal to join. Why? Because the worthy old catechist of the district was known to have refused to join. In yet another house, the only lodging-house in the parish, in which I lodged over the Sunday, the beam which supported the roof spanned across the chief room of the house so low that I could not walk upright from one side to another without my head striking the beam, and the only light admitted to my bedroom was by one pane of glass made up of eleven pieces. The charge was only threepence a night for lodging, or one shilling for board and lodgings. I remained two days for my two shillings. The house was a fair specimen of those in the district, the people of which are very poor. But I must not forget to say that the house and the landlady were very clean."

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"As an illustration from personal experience how the innocent suffer from the mere suspicion of being tainted with the drinking habit, I may refer to a very irritating scrape I got into from a namesake of mine being suspected of being more or less a victim of drink. It happened in this way, at the time when I was Secretary of the Temperance Society and near the end of my course of study in divinity. A fellow-student, but at the time a young probationer, had promised to preach in a neighbouring town, but on his being asked to preach in a vacant pulpit to which he might get a call, I agreed to take his first engagement and preach in his place. The minister was informed of the change and that I was to

take his pulpit in the place of my friend. Accordingly, late at night on the Saturday, I put in an appearance at the manse. My name was announced to the minister's wife and I was shown into the study. Here I remained apparently unnoticed for more than half an hour, when Mrs C. came in, in a state of great excitement, but on seeing me begged pardon and offered apologies for what had happened. For, said she, on her husband learning that it had been arranged without consulting him that Mr Macdonald was to preach, he had sent word that the said gentleman was not to preach in his pulpit on any account, as he did not bear the character of being always sober; and at her husband's request she had arranged that a neighbouring minister was to take his place on the morrow, and this minister was then in the house. Then looking fully in my face she added: 'You are not the Macdonald my husband meant. *You* are quite welcome to my husband's pulpit; but what am I to do? The other minister is here, and he cannot at this late hour return to his own parish.' I was fortunately able to relieve her mind on the matter, for there was a late train by which I could return to Edinburgh. This was not the only trouble into which I had fallen because of my name." A note is added that the person who was the cause of this trouble was *not* the Rev. Kenneth Macdonald of Applecross, who also suffered on account of his being sometimes identified with a less worthy member of the clan.

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"I had arranged that after a hard day's work in [five villages] I would rest for the night in M. By the time I approached the village I felt so tired and foot-sore that I sat on a paling by the roadside and took off one of my boots and a stocking, to see if my foot was blistered. Fortunately I found it was not. On putting them on again I found I could walk only as a cripple. The manse being the nearest house to me, I made for it. I found Mr D. had been translated to a charge in England. The little servant girl, on seeing my disappointment, informed me that the Rev. Dr B. of Edinburgh was occupying the manse. I made up my mind to see him. Further disappointments awaited me. Dr B. asked me if I had any friends in M. I answered No. He then asked me where I was to lodge for the night. I answered in the Temperance Hotel if there was one, if not in the village inn. He said that there was neither, and he was very sorry he could not give me a bed, that

the manse was only half furnished, and that there was no spare bed, and that there was no place in the village as far as he knew where I could get a bed to sleep in. This the servant girl, on being called, confirmed, and further, that there was no place in the neighbourhood nearer than N. where I could find a bed, and N. was four miles away. It was now darkening into night (11th August), yet foot-sore, weary and worn, the four miles I must walk. Tired I certainly was when I finished my four miles and paid my halfpenny as toll for permission to walk across the bridge, yet not so utterly tired as when I had entered M."

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"When I found myself in the presence of ministers on any occasion, the conversation seemed to turn to the subject of temperance. I once joined a number of ministers in the North who were assembled for the meeting of Presbytery, and as usual they began to talk about this matter. One of them remarked: 'It would be well if some of the rest of us were like Mr Macdonald in the practice of abstinence.' On this one of the other ministers sharply retorted, 'That is intended for me, Mr ——,' and received as rejoinder, 'If the cap fits you, by all means put it on.' The applicability of the remark was so generally suspected that it was followed by a dead and somewhat painful silence."

On the first day of January 1860, the student wrote thus in his diary: "To-day, first day of the year, enable me, O Lord, to dedicate myself anew unto Thee; and give me to overcome those sins which particularly beset me, and furnish me with gifts and graces to glorify Thee in Thy service."

Having finished his theological course and passed his Exit Examination with credit, in April 1861, he was in the first place appointed to be missionary in three glens of Argyllshire—Glencoe, stained like Culloden Moor with the blood of his clan, Glen Etive and Glen Creran. He was "licensed to preach the Gospel" by the Presbytery of Abertarff, at Fort William, in October of the same year. Then as probationer he was placed in charge of the preaching-station of Sorne or Glengorm in the Island of Mull, in November of the same year.

When he thought seriously about the question of his permanent sphere of labour, his own predilections were in favour of work among his Gaelic-speaking fellow-countrymen, either in the Highlands of Scotland, or in the great Dominion of Canada, where,

partly or mainly as a consequence of the heartless and wholesale clearances in Sutherlandshire and other parts of the Highlands, there was now said to be a larger Gaelic-speaking population than in Scotland itself. An uncle had gone there, and he pressed Kenneth and his brother to follow him. The idea attracted him, but he still kept in mind the vow he had made, under the influence of Dr Duff's impassioned eloquence, to go to India if called to do so. More than once, during his theological course, he had been approached by deputations from the Foreign Mission Committee, with a view to an appointment in the Indian mission field, but he had declined to commit himself until he had finished his studies and received licence to preach from the constituted authorities of the Church. It was when he was in Mull that he read an earnest and affectionate appeal by Principal Cunningham, to his former students, urging them to come forward and volunteer for the Lord's work in India. He writes: "I felt that now the Lord was calling, through His servant, my greatly loved and revered Principal, and that I could hold out no longer. I wrote at once [to the Foreign Mission Committee], stating that I had no special desire to go to India, that I did not feel that I had any special qualifications for the work, more especially that I had no taste for languages, and did not believe that I was likely ever to acquire such a command of an Indian vernacular as to preach with acceptance or power in it; but that I did feel as if the Lord called me. If they were of that opinion, I could only say, 'Here am I, send me.'"

By return of post came a reply from Dr Tweedie, the Convener of the Committee, asking him to lose no time in coming up to Edinburgh to meet the Committee. His letter they had hailed as "nearly the first streak of light in our present darkness," for the need was great and the men few. A number of probationers had been personally interviewed and the claims of India pressed upon them, of whom not one had responded favourably. With reference to what Mr Macdonald had written about his lack of special qualifications for missionary work, as he had no faculty for acquiring languages, and had made mathematics, logic, philosophy and theology his favourite studies, Dr Tweedie said he regarded these tendencies as plain indications of his suitableness for the Church's work in India.

The probationer read this letter, standing at the door of the little cottage where he was lodging. Looking up as he finished, he

saw the Glasgow steamer coming round Ardnamurchan Point and heading for the Sound of Mull, to call at Tobermory. Realising that if he failed to catch that steamer he would be detained in Mull for another fortnight, he shouted to his astonished landlady that he was off to Edinburgh, and that she could pack his box and send it after him, and started to run the ten miles to Tobermory. On reaching the top of the hill that overlooks its lovely bay, he saw the steamer just about to leave the pier, and heard the bell ringing. He rushed down the hillside as she was moving away, scrambled into a rowing boat, followed and overtook her. As he was being hauled up the ship's side, someone told him in the same breath of the death of Principal Cunningham and of the Prince Consort. On reaching Glasgow, he took train to Edinburgh and met the Committee, who appointed him to Calcutta, and requested his native Presbytery of Abertarff to ordain him "with all convenient speed." This was done in Glen Urquhart Free Church at 10 P.M. on the 8th of January 1862.

Before daylight next morning he left Temple Pier by steamer for Glasgow, spent a day or two in Edinburgh, and a day or two more with his uncle William in the Isle of Wight, and then embarked on a P. & O. steamer at Southampton, for Calcutta.

It was simply a sense of duty that took Kenneth Macdonald to India. He had enlisted as a soldier in the army of Christ, and he felt bound to go where he was wanted, and to do what he was told. But perhaps this prosaic sense of duty carried him further, and better stood the test of time, and the disillusionment of missionary life, than a heroic resolve or an impulsive enthusiasm would have done. He was sorry to give up the Gaelic, not to give it up, indeed, for he never did that—but to go to a place where he would have no special use for it, and few opportunities even of speaking it. It is in this respect alone that we ever find him speaking of having made a sacrifice in leaving Scotland for a land which he soon learned to love as fervently as he loved his native heather, and which in a few years he came to regard as his home. India was never in any sense a "land of regrets" to him.

Reviewing the course of his early spiritual history many years after, Dr Macdonald recognised that all the circumstances of his youth, his godly parentage, and home training, and the interest that was aroused by the Northern Missionary Society, had made

it natural for him to decide as he did. He could not look back upon any striking religious experience as the definite beginning of his Christian life; but he dated the conscious dedication of himself to the ministry of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, at home or abroad, from the day when he listened to the burning words of Dr Duff at Aberdeen.[1]

It was characteristic of the man that when, as he appeared before the Foreign Mission Committee, Dr Thomas Smith asked him if he had Paul's ambition "to preach the Gospel not where Christ was named, lest he should build upon another man's foundation," he replied that his ambition was simply to preach the Gospel to the perishing, and to be blessed in so doing, comparatively indifferent as to whether others had preached to them or not.

Mr Macdonald was the first missionary of the Free Church to be sent out to India, not by a sailing vessel round the Cape, but by the much more direct and rapid "overland route"—by steamer to Alexandria, thence by rail to Suez, and again by steamer to Calcutta. It was not till some years later that the steamers began to sail straight through the Canal to India. The Committee in 1862 was still sending its missionaries round the Cape. They said it was good for their health. It undoubtedly was; and, if time was of no value, it was also cheaper. In Mr Macdonald's case the urgency was held to be sufficient to justify the expense. The staff in the Calcutta Mission was at a very low ebb, and the cool season was fast passing away. The passage money was £117. To a total abstainer it naturally seemed an injustice that it was the inclusion of the wine bill in the fare that made the figure so high. There was no option in the matter; but if a man wanted lemonade or other non-alcoholic drinks, he had to pay a shilling a bottle for them.

He arrived in Calcutta on the 1st of March 1862, where Dr Duff welcomed him "with both hands and tears of joy."

[1] In his autobiographical notes Dr Macdonald quotes with general approval, but with a few qualifications, the reference to conversion in Dr George Smith's *Life of Bishop Heber*, p. 10.

CHAPTER IV

CALCUTTA IN 1862

"It comes, the hallowed day,
Whose dawn shall rend that robe of fear away;
Then shall the torturing spells that midnight knew,
Far in the cloven dells of Mount Meru;
Then shall the moan of frenzied hymns that sighed,
Down the dark vale where Gunga's waters glide,
Then shall the idol chariot's thunder cease
Before the steps of them that publish peace.

"Already are they heard—how fair, how fleet,
Along the mountains flash their burning feet!
Disease and Death before their presence fly;
Truth calls, and gladdened India hears the cry,
Deserts the darkened path her fathers trod,
And seeks redemption from the Incarnate God."

—JOHN RUSKIN.

A CONTEMPORARY writer[1] draws a somewhat gruesome picture of Calcutta as it was when Kenneth Macdonald saw it for the first time in 1862: "The place is so bad by nature that human efforts could do little to make it worse; but that little has been done faithfully and assiduously. 'God made the country,' evidently without a view to its becoming a European colony, 'and man made the town,' and the municipal council made the drains. The combined effect is overwhelming. Statistics cannot express the state of the native streets. The unassisted genius for manufacturing smells displayed by the Hindu becomes stupendous when aided by the sanitary measures of the local authorities." He goes on to say that a soldier might go through three battles of Waterloo with no greater risk of life than he incurred during a year's residence in Fort William. The death-rate then among our British soldiers in Bengal

[1] *The Competition Wallah*, by Sir Geo. Trevelyan, first edition, 1863.

was sixty-five per thousand per annum, or more than four times as high as it has been during the last twenty years. It required the transcendent genius of Milton to imagine for the fallen angels this aggravation of their punishment, that they should carry on public business amidst the burning marl, and beneath the torrid clime vaulted with fire. Yet the second book of *Paradise Lost* read like an account of the proceedings during the meeting of the Supreme Legislative Council of the Government of India, when the question of peace or war, with Burmah or Nepaul, was being discussed and decided. He further describes the younger and more vigorous members of the community as efflorescing with a singularly unpleasant eruption known as "prickly-heat," which, being supposed to be a sort of safety-valve for feverish tendencies, excites the envy of all who are not so blessed. "Conceive a climate," he exclaims, "such that an exquisitely painful cutaneous disorder is allowed to be a fair subject for congratulation." All this, and much more like it, was a piece of special pleading in favour of a scheme for transferring the seat of the Imperial Government to a more healthy and bracing site, where the officials could do more efficient work—for enlarged views were not compatible with enlarged livers. Such schemes have often been mooted, but Calcutta has survived them all and still retains her proud position :—

> "I am Asia,—power on silt,
> Death in my hands, but Gold."

She is *urbs prima in Indis*, and the second city of the Empire. Even in the 'sixties a vast change for the better had taken place in her hygiene compared with what it was towards the end of the previous century, when of seventy Europeans who sailed up the Hooghly only one returned to his native country. Probably one reason why schemes for transferring the imperial capital to another site are less often brought forward now is because, when our "summer sets in with its usual severity"—in another sense than Charles Lamb intended — it is the custom for the Supreme Government to migrate to the cool heights of Simla, for at least six months of the year.

Such was the scene of Kenneth Macdonald's ministry. In this depressing climate he spent over forty years of strenuous life. When he died he was Calcutta's oldest missionary, and one of her

foremost citizens. Here is his own description of Calcutta in the early years of his residence there :—

"The streets were kept in a frightful state of disrepair, very few of them macadamised, and with holes so big in some places that the carriage wheels went down into them to the axle. These holes in the rains were full of water and mud. Then on either side was the wide and deep open drain, nearly always full of mud, into which the pedestrian was in danger of falling, as I saw one "babu"[1] do on one occasion when the wheel of my buggy came too near to his person. On looking back I saw him emerging out of it like a drowned rat, all covered with mud up to the waist. There were no lights save that given by a miserably poor oil lamp. The gas was being introduced in the European quarter of the town when I arrived, and a few lamps lit. As to our drinking water of those days, it was such that if any kind of water could justify drinking body-and-soul-killing alcohol, as no bad water can, it was that one. Regularly as we sat down to dinner, and water was poured into our glasses, each held up the glass between his eyes and the light to see if any undeveloped mosquitoes were chasing each other in its depths, when the cry to the servants was frequently heard, "Take it away," and another *gumlah* (earthen water pot) was tapped for purer water. As there was no covered drainage, nor any proper drainage system in those days, so there was no water supply. We had to depend for drinking and cooking water either on the dirty, muddy Hooghly, or on the rain water collected in the stagnant tanks (reservoirs) found all over the town or on the *maidan* (or plain), or in casks. In the casks we had for our use only rain water a day or two old; while the tanks were filled with water of the previous rainy season or seasons."

Nor was it so easy for the missionaries in those days to move to a health resort in case of sickness. The East Indian was the only railway, and it had only recently been opened as far as Raniganj, 121 miles from Calcutta. Darjeeling, Simla, Mussoorie, Naini Tal, and other hill stations were almost inaccessible. Those

[1] It is hardly necessary to explain that the word "babu," which will often occur in the following pages, is the term applied to educated English-speaking Bengalis. Originally it was a term used only in the case of persons of rank, but like the corresponding English terms, "Mr" or "Esquire," it has passed into very common use.

who needed a change took to the river, or went down to the Sandheads, where the Hooghly joins the sea, or took a voyage to South Africa, which the Duke of Wellington had long before recommended as a sanitorium for Anglo-Indians. "Walking in the evening on the house top" is the only recreation we find mentioned in those days. There were no punkahs in the Free Church Institution. The professors had not even a retiring-room. Dr Duff and his colleagues sat in the library, or in one of the class-rooms, during the midday interval, each eating a piece of bread with jam or jelly as his luncheon. One of the younger missionaries, Mr Beaumont, told Mr Macdonald that he had once ventured to suggest to his seniors the propriety of their having some arrangement for at least washing their hands through the long sweltering hours of the Indian day. "On which dear good Dr Ewart remarked that when it came to that it would be time for him to go home." The older missionaries, it is evident, cherished a high ideal of their vocation. Dr Duff, on one occasion, considered it to be his duty to faithfully admonish his younger colleague, Dr Thomas Smith, on account of the length of the latter's whiskers. They were "not altogether consistent with the worldly unconformity becoming a missionary." Suitable dwelling-houses were hard to find in the native quarter in which the Institution is situated, so some of the missionaries' residences were three miles or more from the scene of their work. Even those who lived comparatively near, in Dr Duff's house in Cornwallis Square, often found it difficult to reach the Institution by the direct route, the crowded, narrow, ill-kept streets being often hopelessly blocked by bullock-carts and other impediments. There was no Beadon Street then, affording a straight thoroughfare from Cornwallis Square to the Institution. The old route was known to the early missionaries as "Duff's Straits," on account of the frequency with which that veteran was found struggling with the difficulties of its navigation.

The arrival of the home mail was a great event then, as it is even now, although it comes regularly once a week. The postage on a letter to Europe was a shilling. When the mail steamer arrived at Achepore, one of the stations on the river between Calcutta and the sea, three guns were fired from the Fort. The residents then knew that an hour and a half later the steamer would arrive at Garden Reach, the extreme south end of the harbour, where passengers were landed; and that an hour and a half after

that they might go to the Post Office for their letters. There the boxes were emptied out on the mud floor, and everyone was free to search for his own letters and papers and carry them off.

The conditions of life in Calcutta at that period may be most easily realised by noting the material improvements which Dr Macdonald saw carried into effect in the course of his life. He saw their muddy drinking water superseded by clear, wholesome water, filtered by the municipality; the open drains and cesspools, by underground drainage; the oil lamps, by gas and then to some extent by the electric light; and the wretched roads, by good macadamised streets with foot-pavements. He saw the introduction of the tramcars, first with horse power and then with electric motors, and a great extension of the railway system and the steamer service. Most of the splendid buildings—the Imperial Museum, the Imperial and Bengal Secretariats, the General Post Office and the Telegraphic Office, the High Court and Small Cause Court, the Paper Currency Building, the University Senate House and the Presidency College, the Y.M.C.A. Buildings, the General, Mayo, Eden and Dufferin Hospitals, to say nothing of many churches, schools and private offices—were built in his time. The jetties on the river and the Howrah pontoon bridge were constructed within the same period, and the Zoological and Eden Gardens were added to the places of public resort.

Calcutta was the field in which the Church of Scotland first set her hand to the missionary plough. The Scottish Missionary Society had begun work in Western India a few years earlier Donald Mitchell, its first missionary, having arrived in Bombay in 1823. But Alexander Duff was the first missionary to be appointed and sent out by the Church. Accompanied by his wife, he arrived in Calcutta on the 27th of May 1830, after a voyage of over seven months' duration, during which they had been twice shipwrecked. His instructions had been to select a site for an educational institution, not in Calcutta itself, but in the *mofussil*, as the country district is called in India, relatively to the town which forms its natural centre; but after a careful study of the circumstances on the spot, he decided to set these instructions aside and begin work in Calcutta itself. It was, he believed, not merely the best, but the only suitable site, at that time, for an educational institution of the kind contemplated. On 2nd August the Institution was opened with forty pupils. The Rev. William Sinclair Mackay joined the

mission in 1831. In 1832 the first converts were baptised—Khrishna Mohun Banerjea, Mohesh Ghose,[1] and Gopinath Nandi, all men of mark—and others followed in 1833. Duff and Mackay were joined by the Rev. David Ewart in 1834. In 1835 Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, by a resolution of Government, announced a radical change in the educational policy. Hitherto the aim of the Government in this department had been confined to the encouragement of Oriental learning. Macaulay had been pouring the vials of his scorn upon "the medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in the girls at an English boarding-school, history abounding in kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter," and holding up to ridicule a system which first educated Sanskrit and Persian scholars at public expense, and had then to provide them with pensions for life. Many competent judges are of the opinion that under Macaulay's influence the reaction against the encouragement of vernacular learning went too far; and it is certain that his anticipations regarding the results of English education have not been fulfilled. "If our plans of education are followed up," he wrote in 1836, "there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence." No prophecy has ever been more completely falsified by history. At that time, however, Macaulay's influence was irresistible, and the Government declared that "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone." The Government of India have always readily acknowledged that in this decision they were to a large extent influenced by the work of the early missionaries.[2] The change was one which greatly enlarged the opportunities and the possibilities of the work Duff had inaugurated. The Rev. John

[1] Mohesh Ghose, although a student of Dr Duff's, was baptised by an Episcopalian clergyman.

[2] "The impulse . . . came from two sources, the need for public servants with a knowledge of the English language, and the influence in favour both of English and of vernacular education which was exercised by the missionaries in the early part of the nineteenth century."—Lord Curzon's *Resolution on Education in India, March* 1904.

Macdonald, son of the "Apostle of the North," and his wife, arrived in 1838, and the Rev. Thomas Smith in 1839. By 1840 the pupils had increased to 1800, and the work was extended to Kalna, in the Burdwan District, Chinsurah, Tribeni, and other mofussil stations. Mr W. C. Fyfe (afterwards ordained) arrived in 1843, to take part in this extension work.

At the Disruption in 1843 all the missionaries, with the exception of one lady, threw in their lot with the Free Church. Few among her ministers were called upon to make a greater sacrifice. All the buildings they had erected, save the dwelling-house in Cornwallis Square, which was Dr Duff's personal property, the library and scientific apparatus, were claimed by the Establishment, and the missionaries had practically to begin again from the beginning. This they cheerfully did, and in March 1844 the new building at Nimtollah, now known as the Duff College, was opened with 791 names on the roll. The General Assembly's Institution was closed.

The Rev. John Macdonald died in August 1847, and the Rev. David Sinclair, who succeeded him in 1848, died four years later. The Rev. Thomas Gardiner arrived in 1853, along with the Rev. John Milne of Perth, who came out to be minister of the Free Church congregation at Wellesley Square. The Rev. Mr Pourie arrived in 1854, and the Rev. J. S. Beaumont in 1855. The Mutiny of 1857 caused no interruption in the work of the Calcutta Mission. There was at one time a scare that the sepoys at Barrackpur, a cantonment fourteen miles north of Calcutta, were going to rise and march upon the city. Had they done so, the missionaries at Cornwallis Square, in the extreme north end of Calcutta, would probably have been their first victims. But Duff slept peacefully through the night of alarms, and remarked to his wife in the morning that he could not remember ever having a better night's slumber. The mission suffered a great loss by the death of Dr Ewart, a man greatly beloved, from cholera, in September 1860. In spite of the reinforcements received from time to time, the staff of the mission during these years had often been sadly reduced by sickness, and when K. S. Macdonald joined it, it was in sore straits. Dr Ewart had died, as has just been said, about eighteen months before. Dr Mackay had retired, broken down in health, with little prospect of ever being able to return, in February 1862, as Mr Macdonald was on his way out. He died

in Scotland in 1865. Mr Thomson, an unordained professor, having served his term, was leaving the mission to enter Government service on the day of Mr Macdonald's arrival. Dr Duff himself, after thirty-two years exceedingly hard work, was in very poor and uncertain health, and was compelled to leave India for good at the close of the following year. Mr Pourie had become minister of Wellesley Square Free Church, Mr Beaumont was in Chinsurah, Dr Thomas Smith had been permanently invalided home in 1858, and Mr Gardiner in the following year. The only European in vigorous health in the Calcutta Mission was Mr W. C. Fyfe. Towards the end of the year Dr Robson joined the mission, and also Mr Gilbert Grange Ross, who succeeded Mr Thomson. This brief account of the history of the Calcutta Mission has been considered necessary, to enable the reader to follow with intelligence the subsequent narrative.

In the year 1862 the Free Church Mission in Calcutta had the names of 196 Indian Christians on its roll, of whom 84 were communicants. In the Institution there were 1530 pupils, of whom 183 were in the college department, that is to say, they had passed the Entrance or Matriculation Examination, and were studying for the First Arts or Bachelor of Arts Examination, in connection with the University of Calcutta. It was the hero of Magdala, Sir Robert Napier, who presided that year at the prize distribution, and Lady Elgin, the Viceroy's wife, visited the Institution in the following year.

For a fortnight after his arrival, Mr Macdonald was the guest of Dr and Mrs Duff at their house in Cornwallis Square. He then took up permanent quarters with Mr Fyfe, who was at that time residing in Wellesley Street, opposite the Wellesley Square Free Church, but three miles from the Institution.

CHAPTER V

THE EDUCATIONAL MISSIONARY

"I have had some experience in the work of conversion myself, and I have tried in succession every variety of method, but the remarkable fact remains that during the whole of my long Indian life, I believe that not one educated high-caste Hindu has been converted to Christianity in this part of the country except directly or indirectly through the influence of mission schools."

—Bishop Caldwell.

A few words are necessary to explain the nature of the work to which, as an educational missionary, Mr Macdonald was appointed, and which engrossed most, but by no means all, of his energy during the first nineteen years of his life in Calcutta.

In promoting the study of English as incomparably the best medium for religious instruction, and in encouraging its use for purposes of administration, the missionaries and the Government had been working along convergent lines which met in the great Education Despatch of 1854. The result of that measure was the incorporation of the three Indian universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857. Allahabad and Lahore were added later, on the recommendation of Lord Ripon's Educational Commission of 1882. The model chosen, with some modifications, was London University. The Indian university was not to be a teaching, but an examining body. But it was not to confine its action to prescribing subjects of study and examining applicants for degrees; it was also to exercise some control over the student's course of education by making it a condition that he must study in one of the colleges recognised by and affiliated to the University. English was to be the basis of the education. Oriental languages were to be included in the curriculum, just as Latin and Greek were recognised in English or Scottish universities. But English was to be used as the medium for teaching and examinations. Of the examinations the Entrance corresponded to Matriculation. The B.A. is the

degree which most students aspire to, but midway between it and the Entrance Examination is the First Arts Examination. Many students are content to stop short at this intermediate stage without going further, and a great many colleges profess only to teach up to the F.A. standard. Comparatively few go on to the M.A. One of the many peculiarities of Indian student life is that even to be unsuccessful in any of these examinations, from the Entrance upwards, is regarded as a sort of academic distinction. A man describes himself as an "Entrance fail," an "F.A. fail," or "a failed B.A." These titles are not altogether worthless, for they imply that those who use them at least qualified themselves by class attendance for the various examinations.[1]

The education in the Government's own schools and colleges was to be entirely secular, but the Despatch of 1854 made it quite clear that Christianity was not to be placed under any disqualification. The Bible was to have a place in all the school and college libraries, and pupils were to be free to consult it and to ask their teachers for explanations about it, provided this was done out of school hours. For a teacher in a Government school to teach a Bible class out of school hours was not to be regarded as a breach of the rule of religious neutrality. As a matter of fact, a number of Hindu students of the Presidency or Government College in Calcutta became convinced of the truth of Christianity, and were baptised as the result of a Bible class taught out of college hours by one of the professors.

A mission school or college, so long as it conformed to the rules laid down by the University in other respects, was left perfectly free to make any regulations or arrangements it liked for religious teaching. This does not of course form part of the teaching that qualifies for University degrees, but as a rule the mission colleges make attendance at the Bible lesson compulsory. Hindu and Mohammedan colleges are equally free to teach their respective systems of religion.

Work in a mission college is thus work for which the missionary is ready the day he arrives in India, once you grant, what the system has always assumed, that any missionary sent out by the

[1] "Wanted, for a tea garden, a plucked M.B." "Wanted a plucked B.A. Salary, Rs. 40 per month, with free quarters. Preference to be given to him who has some knowledge of law and of healthy constitution." These are genuine advertisements from a Calcutta newspaper.

Church is fit not only to teach, but to teach anything. No one would deny that it is desirable that every missionary should know the vernacular spoken by the people he labours among, whether his work is in the classroom or the bazaar. Duff himself drew a comparison between the situation in the Highlands of Scotland and in the mission field. Bengali was like Gaelic, which, "though powerful for lyric and other poetry, and also for popular address, contained no works that could meet the objects of a higher and comprehensive education. Hence those who sought that found it in English colleges, and returned as preachers and teachers to distribute the treasures of knowledge, acquired through English, among the Gaelic people." But if the teacher was compelled at once, as he so often was, to begin teaching in English, and if he was not a specially good linguist, as the subject of this memoir never professed to be, it was exceedingly difficult for him to acquire a really useful knowledge of the vernacular. From the day he arrived in Calcutta Mr Macdonald had to teach five hours a day in the college for six days a week. Holidays were then very few, for the early missionaries had conscientious scruples, which their successors do not share, against observing Hindu and Mohammedan festivals. Mr Macdonald did make a brave attempt to acquire Bengali, with the aid of a pundit, but after struggling on for six months he came to the conclusion that the £2 a month he was paying might just as well be thrown into the Hooghly. So exit pundit, not to reappear.

The period during which Mr Macdonald worked along with the distinguished founder of the mission was very short, but long enough to establish a friendship between them which terminated only with death. When Mr Macdonald was leaving Edinburgh, one of his theological professors, in bidding him farewell, expressed his regret that his destination was Calcutta, and not one of the other large cities of India; for at Calcutta, he said, Dr Duff would compel him to follow his, Dr Duff's, methods, instead of leaving him to exercise his own judgment. This, Mr Macdonald said in recording the incident afterwards, was unfair to Duff. Still, it is apparent that the latter was a Highlander of a different type from his young colleague. He was intense, high-strung, excitable, emotional. Dr Macdonald once told the writer that soon after he had begun to teach in Calcutta, Dr Duff one day walked into the classroom where he was engaged in his work, and after listening to him for a few minutes, found fault somewhat sharply with his

method of teaching. Mr Macdonald said nothing at the time, but when the class had been dismissed he went to Dr Duff to remonstrate. He did not object to be corrected, he said, but in the interests of discipline he thought it should not be done in the presence of his pupils. Dr Duff sprang from his chair, seized Macdonald's hand in both of his, and with tears rolling down his cheeks, begged him to forgive him for his thoughtlessness and want of consideration.

In 1863 Dr Duff taught Philosophy; Mr Fyfe, English; and Mr Macdonald, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy and Chemistry. These were the subjects for which he had shown most aptitude as a student, but the course was different from what it had been in Aberdeen, and what with total abstinence and theology and other things, he had done nothing to keep them fresh in his memory since he left King's College. To teach five hours in the Institution, he found it necessary to spend a still longer time in private preparation. History was then being taught by a native professor. Each of the missionaries also taught the Bible, with Christian Evidences and Theology. When Dr Duff went home, Mr Macdonald had to add Logic and Philosophy to his other subjects. The authorities at Edinburgh, however, did not approve of an ordained missionary teaching such a hopelessly secular subject as Mathematics, and Mr Martin Mowat, a gold medallist in Mathematics in Edinburgh University, was sent out in 1867 to relieve him of this part of the work. He then published a volume entitled *Problems in Dynamics*, which became very popular among the students preparing for the B.A. degree, and was used as a text-book in some of the Government and other colleges. To help his students in their philosophical studies, he also published profusely annotated editions of Reid's *Enquiry into the Human Mind*, and of Abercrombie's *Intellectual Powers*, of which the latter ran through several editions. To enable them to study Indian Philosophy side by side with the Philosophy of the West, he also published a revised and annotated edition of Dr Ballantyne's translation of the *Nyāya Philosophy* or *Tarka Sangraha*. This was republished by the Calcutta Tract Society in 1894. He himself had received but little help from his teachers of Philosophy in Aberdeen, but took a natural pleasure in the subject. He also taught history for several sessions, and while doing so published five volumes of "Student's Aids" to the study of Indian, British and Ancient

History. These continued to pass through one edition after another till the subjects for examination were altered. English is regarded as the most important of all the subjects from the University point of view, and the missionaries also attach the utmost importance to it as the subject affording more opportunities for Christian instruction than any other except the Bible itself. As a rule they all take a share in the teaching of English. Such, at least, seems to have been the rule in the time of Mr Macdonald, who, at one period or another, taught all the English classes, from Matriculation to M.A. In fact, he taught all the subjects in the curriculum, except Sanskrit, Persian, Bengali and Latin: the first three of which were always taught by Indians. Certain English books are prescribed by the University, and much of the lecturing in the colleges consists in the dictation to the students of notes on these. Mr Macdonald published several volumes of these annotated classics for the use of other students and teachers. Among these were Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Books IV. and VI.; Pope's *Essay on Criticism*; Addison's *Cato*; Scott's *Bridal of Triermain*; Byron's *Siege of Corinth*; Macaulay's *Lay of Virginia*, and many others. By this plan he saved a good deal of his own and his students' time. Many of these first appeared in the pages of the *Indian Student*, of which he was for some years the editor. Each number of this periodical contained, first of all, a leading article on some Christian doctrine, or on some other theme, written with an evangelistic aim. Then came notes on English texts, or on English idiom and grammar; solutions of mathematical problems; extracts from Christian authors, and general intelligence. There were in those days two other periodicals, the *Enquirer* and the *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, chiefly written for students. Of each of these Mr Macdonald was at one time joint, and at another time sole editor. These two, unlike the first, were entirely religious; were circulated gratuitously, and died from want of funds, to be replaced in after years by the Oxford Mission's very successful *Epiphany*. The *Indian Student* was subscribed for by a large number of students and paid its way.

Of the work in the school, which is preparatory to the college and meets in the same building, Mr Macdonald took his share, at one time in association with his friend, Dr William Robson. The latter looked after the vernacular, the former after the English, side of this work.

Those were days of hard work, but of much encouragement. In 1864 the attendance at the Institution, in school and college, reached the high figure of 1657. In 1866 one of the Calcutta newspapers described the Free Church Institution in Calcutta as "the largest educational institute in Asia." Among the crowds of pupils were not a few lads of more than usual promise. In the first classes Mr Macdonald taught, in his first year in India, was a young Brahmin of the highest caste, Kali Churn Banerjea by name, of whom the reader will often hear again in the course of our story. He was one of the most brilliant students of his day. He graduated M.A. in Mental and Moral Philosophy, in the first division, and was a University prizeman and gold medallist. From the day of his baptism in 1863, his devotion to the cause of Christ among his fellow-countrymen has been whole-hearted. He was elected some years ago to represent the University of Calcutta on the Bengal Legislative Council, and is now Registrar of the University. Two of his class-fellows were Mathura Nath Bose and B. L. Chandra, both of whom embraced Christianity and became distinguished members of the Christian community in Bengal. Mr Bose founded an indigenous mission at Gopalganj, of which we shall hear again, and Mr Chandra is now Government Registrar of Calcutta.

Exacting the work Mr Macdonald had to do in and for the Institution undoubtedly was, but it by no means monopolised the interest or exhausted the energy of the young missionary. Very soon after coming to Calcutta he became acquainted with a young Hindu, Lakhinarain Dass by name, who resided in Howrah, the large suburb of Calcutta, on the opposite side of the Hooghly River. At the invitation of this young man, who as the elder brother was the head of his household, Mr Macdonald crossed the river regularly every Sunday, to conduct a Bible class in his house, for the benefit of English-speaking young men, of whom there was a large number in the neighbourhood. After the class was closed, a gathering of a more informal kind used to be held, when the missionary preached the Gospel to the assembled members of the household and to any others who cared to join them. The gratifying result was that before the end of the year Lakhinarain Dass was baptised by Dr Duff. He became a most useful member of the Church of Christ, and subsequently, in answer to his prayers, he had the joy of seeing all the members of his household embrace

the Christian faith. He became well known as a writer of Bengali hymns and the composer of Bengali music.

About the close of 1863, Sabbath classes were commenced in the Institution, with an attendance, usually, of over 250. After the various classes, taught in separate rooms, had finished their lesson, they all assembled in the large hall, where one of the missionaries delivered a sermon or lecture in English. All the Christian staff, native and European, took part in this work, and there was a special class, taught by one of the missionaries, for the benefit of the non-Christian teachers employed in school and college. Mr Macdonald also spent as much time as he could spare from more formal duties in friendly intercourse with the students attending the meetings of their various societies, visiting them in their homes or lodgings, and inviting them to visit him at his own house. In all these ways he found opportunities for bringing religious influences to bear upon his students, and of following up the work done within the classroom. This effort to utilise the Institution for religious purposes on Sundays led to some interesting developments, which will be described in a subsequent chapter.

Dr Duff's final departure from India, on 20th December 1863, was a great loss to the mission, but the occasion of a remarkable tribute to the work he had done for Christ in India. The extraordinary display not only of admiration but of personal affection, of which he was the object on the part not only of his former pupils and other Bengali friends, but of the entire community, Indian and European, was unmistakable evidence both of the depth and extent of his personal influence, and of the progress made by the mission under his zealous care and inspiring leadership. Old converts travelled 180 or 200 miles to bid him goodbye. At a special public valedictory meeting held in Calcutta, on the eve of his departure, he made an earnest appeal for six donations of £200 each, to open as many schools in the district of Mahanad. Before the vessel in which he sailed was clear of the river, he received intimation that the whole sum he had asked for had been subscribed. A number of Scholarships were founded in his name in connection with the University; oil paintings were executed by the best artists on behalf of the Doveton College and the Bethune Society;[1] his

[1] The Bethune Society, formed in 1859, was a literary, philosophical and scientific society of Bengali gentlemen, founded in memory of the Hon. Mr Bethune, Law Member of Council, on account of his services to the cause of education. Dr Duff was President. For Doveton College see Chapter XV.

students placed his marble bust in the hall of the Institution. A still more striking testimony to the esteem in which he was held by his own fellow-countrymen in the East, was a gift of £11,000 subscribed by a few of the Scottish merchants in India, Singapore and China. This sum he invested on behalf of the invalided missionaries of his own Church, but lived on the interest it yielded during the rest of his life. He was made Convener of the Foreign Mission Committee and Professor of Evangelistic Theology, but refused to receive any emoluments in connection with these appointments. His colleagues felt his loss keenly, but they also felt that the foundations he had left, upon which they were rearing an edifice to the glory of God and the good of men, were well and truly laid. "It is quite certain," wrote Bishop Cotton, "that the work which he did in India can never be undone, unless we, whom he leaves behind, are faithless to his example."

At the close of 1864 Sir John Lawrence, then Viceroy of India, presided at the annual prize distribution in connection with the Institution. It was the first occasion upon which the Viceroy had graced the occasion in his official capacity, and a proof that the Institution still held a high place in public esteem.

On 7th April 1863 Mr Macdonald was married to Jane, the elder daughter of Mr John Hannah, Kirkcudbright. Mr and Mrs Macdonald's first home was Russell Street, and afterwards in Boitakhana, where Mrs Macdonald took charge of an Orphanage for Girls in connection with the mission.

CHAPTER VI

TEMPERANCE AND PURITY

"As we drove back to Ashbourne, Dr Johnson recommended me, as he had often done, to drink water only: 'For,' said he, 'you are then sure not to get drunk; whereas, if you drink wine, you are never sure.'"—BOSWELL.

"So dear to heaven is saintly chastity."—MILTON.

WHEN Mr Macdonald came to Calcutta he found abundant opportunities there for the exercise of his zeal as a temperance reformer. Drunkenness, it is true, was not so glaring an evil in India as it was in Scotland; but it was an evil sufficiently grave to make it very desirable that a resolute stand should be made against it. Our own countrymen, perhaps, were not drinking more than formerly, but among educated Bengalis, and sad to say, especially among Bengali Christians, intemperance seemed to be increasing rapidly and to an alarming degree. Among college students in those days, excessive drinking was very general. Mr Macdonald was once shocked to find, at some great function in the Town Hall, one of his students, of whose conversion he had cherished high hopes, helplessly drunk. On another occasion he travelled in the same railway carriage with one of the leading Bengali pleaders in Calcutta, who had been one of the most distinguished students of the University in his day, who was also in the last degree of intoxication. One of the ablest of the native papers at that time, in noticing the death of a leading Bengali, made the startling statement that of nearly every one of his distinguished countrymen it had to be said, when he died, what it said of this one, that his life had been shortened by excessive drinking. All the customs of Anglo-Indian Society were in favour of the use of liquor, and among natives of the country who had been emancipated from the bondage of caste, and who sought to imitate the ways of Europeans in every respect, alcohol was working havoc. There was no public sentiment in favour of abstinence. One of the leading merchants of

Calcutta, a Presbyterian elder, waited upon Mr Macdonald in his house to ask him to try to induce his brother, who was drinking excessively, to become a total abstainer. But he refused to become one himself.

Mr Macdonald dined one evening with three other Calcutta merchants, who were agents for a large number of tea gardens, and who discussed total abstinence as they sipped their wine, and deplored the fact that they lost more of their assistants through intemperance than from all other causes put together. At all Bengali Christian marriages in those days, as at similar functions among the missionaries, wine was partaken of by all present—Bengali and European. The Rev. J. P. Ashton, of the London Mission, in his *History of the Calcutta Missionary Conference*, says that up to the year 1861 it may be doubted if the temperance cause, in the sense of total abstinence, had a single advocate in all Bengal. In a journey across India, to be afterwards referred to, Mr Macdonald met the Rev. J. M. Thoburn, now Bishop Thoburn, of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, in the jungles of Central India. They were travelling in opposite directions, but had much congenial intercourse during a short halt. Some time afterwards, Mr Thoburn, addressing a public meeting in Calcutta, said that Mr Macdonald was the first total abstainer he had met in India. The Rev. J. E. Payne, of the London Mission, who had arrived in Calcutta at the end of 1860, shared Mr Macdonald's convictions on the temperance question, and through their combined efforts a new era began.

The evils of intemperance had been so great and so flagrant, that it was impossible for the earlier missionaries either to ignore them or to refrain from making some effort to remedy them. Dr Duff had taken part in a movement to lessen drunkenness by persuading people to give up the use of ardent spirits, and confine themselves to wine, beer and porter. But when Mr Macdonald, having been asked to lecture on temperance to a large gathering of English-speaking Bengalis, strongly advocated total abstinence from all intoxicants, Dr Duff, who presided, characterised his speech as "the most intemperate lecture on temperance he had ever listened to." Still the result was the inauguration of several Total Abstinence Societies in various parts of the city.

Mr Macdonald's efforts in the cause of total abstinence were chiefly devoted to the English-speaking Bengalis, for the greater part students or ex-students of the University. He received hearty

support from leading members of this community, especially from Professor Peary Churn Sircar of the Presidency College. He found, too, that an appeal to the growing national sentiment of the Bengalis elicited a ready response. The history of India, in its relation to drink, he often maintained, was a great encouragement to the temperance reformer. There was evidence that for a long time in the remote past, the Hindus were a most drunken nation. Gods and goddesses, saints, philosophers and poets, all indulged to excess in intoxicating liquors. But a time came when the people began to realise the danger to which their drinking exposed them, and a movement of reform followed, so sincere and thoroughgoing, that the Hindus have ever since been one of the most temperate nations in the world. A fact like this came home with force to the young Bengalis, whose minds, mainly, although in many cases indirectly and unconsciously through the influence of Western education, were awakening to a sense of patriotism. From this and other co-operating causes, there was reason to believe that the tide which had seemed to be settling towards widespread intemperance, was really turned. Several Societies were founded among the students, with Mr Macdonald as President or Secretary. One of the most important of them was constituted in 1875, chiefly for the benefit of non-Christians, students or ex-students. Professor Peary Churn Sircar was President, and the two Vice-Presidents were Mr Macdonald and Keshub Chunder Sen, the great Hindu reformer.

In his efforts to recommend total abstinence to his fellow-missionaries, Mr Macdonald met with much gratifying success. The younger generations of missionaries who followed him to India were much more favourably disposed towards total abstinence than their predecessors had been. All the Calcutta missionaries of the Free Church, men and women, became members of the Society of which Mr Macdonald had been Secretary at home, and to which he was still enthusiastically attached. In 1871 he was asked to read a paper on Total Abstinence at the Calcutta Missionary Conference, and when, as Convener of the Temperance Committee of that body in 1888, he addressed a circular to all the missionaries in Bengal asking for an expression of their opinion on the question of total abstinence, he was able to report to the Conference that the replies showed that, with only one or two exceptions, they were total abstainers. He also lived to see a great improvement in

those quarters of Calcutta which are frequented by European sailors. In his early years the scenes of drunkenness witnessed there were deplorable. Thanks, he said, to the persevering efforts of the American Methodist Episcopal missionaries, this evil, although by no means removed, was to a large extent mitigated. But to the end of his life he had to confess with shame that there was so much to encourage the idea very prevalent among the people of India that drunkenness was a characteristic of Christian nations, and it was always a sore point to him to see the very tramcars of Calcutta placarded with advertisements of "Gaelic," "Highland," and "Scotch" whisky.

Mr Macdonald was always ready to admit that the evils of intemperance were less widespread and disastrous in India than in his native land—a drunk woman, for instance, is very seldom seen in India—and his efforts in connection with the temperance movement were avowedly, in many cases, preventive rather than curative. The evil of impurity, however, was on quite a different plane. Unchastity in thought, speech and deed, was ingrained in the Hindu system and permeated the social and religious life. Obscenity was, as it still is, recognised and sanctioned both by law and religion.[1] The subject of social purity in India is inextricably connected with that of infant marriage and enforced widowhood, evils against which Mr Macdonald waged an incessant warfare throughout his missionary career, and which claimed so much of his attention that they demand a chapter to themselves. Here it may be said that his conflict with impurity, as with intemperance, was conducted along the two lines of moral appeals to the conscience and chivalry of the individual, and of public agitation for legislative repression. One of his favourite heroes, whom he was never tired of holding up to the admiration of the young men of Bengal, was Sir Galahad :—

> "My strength is as the strength of ten,
> Because my heart is pure."

He was the model, too, not only of personal chastity, but equally

[1] To section 292 of the Indian Penal Code, which forbids the importation, sale, hire, or public exhibition of any obscene book, picture, etc., the following exception is affixed : "This section does not extend to any representation sculptured, engraved, painted or otherwise represented on or in any temple, or on any car used in the conveyance of idols, or kept or used for any religious purpose."

of zeal for national righteousness and of an enlightened public spirit. Referring to his vision of the Holy Grail, he could say :—

> "And in the strength of this I rode,
> Shattering all evil customs everywhere,
> And broke them all, and in the strength of this
> Came victor."

A lecture on *Sir Galahad, the Strong and Pure*, which he delivered many years ago, was printed as a pamphlet and had a wide circulation. A large edition of it was reprinted by the Calcutta Tract Society in 1901.

In this connection, too, as in the case of temperance, Mr Macdonald was able to appeal with force to national and patriotic sentiment. It was in the heroic age of the Hindus, he said, in the Vedic period, that monogamy was the rule, and woman was then honoured as the comrade of man. She shared her husband's position as head of the home, and sacrificed along with him at the family altar. It was as this ideal of womanhood receded further and further from view, that moral and physical degeneration progressed, and the hope of India lay in raising woman once more to her proper and natural place.

As the result of strenuous efforts to improve the moral tone of public life, a definite advance was from time to time recorded. One of these milestones in the road of progress was the inauguration of a Society for the Suppression of Public Obscenity, by a public meeting in the Town Hall of Calcutta on 20th September 1873. This movement had been initiated by the Calcutta Missionary Conference, who had appointed a Committee to move in the matter, with Mr Macdonald as Convener. Up to that time the obscenity exhibited in Calcutta in connection with one of the religious festivals of the Hindus was disgusting in the extreme and an abuse of the license allowed by the Penal Code. At the public meeting Dr George Smith, editor of the *Friend of India*, presided, and the speakers included a leading Mohammedan (Syed Amir Ali), an orthodox Hindu, a European journalist (Mr James Wilson, of the *Indian Daily News*), a leading Brahmo (Keshub Chunder Sen), a native Christian (Kali Churn Banerjea), and a missionary—Mr K. S. Macdonald. The *Indian Mirror*, in an account of the meeting, said of the last speaker, that "his iron voice and well-strung sentences lent an unusual vigour to his eloquent speech." Such

societies as a rule are short-lived in India, owing to the incessant and inevitable changes in the *personnel*; but this one did some good work before it died.

At another time Mr Macdonald was a member of a Committee on Purity, whose special object was to suppress the temptations to vice in the public streets. Their appeals to the Bengal Government to introduce legislation of a kind similar to that which had produced a beneficial change in the cities of England and Scotland were met with the objection that an attempt to introduce western ideals regarding such matters in the present condition of Hindu society was utterly Utopian and subversive of the principles and practices described in its sacred books. The *nautch* was another evil against which protest was also made from time to time, more especially against its being publicly patronised by Government officials of the highest rank. The *nautch* is simply an exhibition by female dancers, and even when the dancing itself is not indecent, it is objectionable on account of the fact that the dancing women are by profession courtesans. The *nautch* is the most popular performance at Indian entertainments, and almost invariably formed a prominent feature in native functions patronised by Europeans. Deputations waited upon high officials to suggest that they and their wives should discontinue to encourage these exhibitions by their presence, in the interests of public morality; but it was all in vain till Lord Wenlock, the Governor of Madras, earned the gratitude of all right-thinking people by publicly intimating that he would refuse to attend any public entertainment of which a *nautch* formed a part. The good which resulted from this declaration was not confined to his own jurisdiction.

Still another form of agitation in the interests of purity was that which from time to time sought to prevent little widows and stolen girls from being sold to the keepers of houses of ill-fame in Calcutta, to be brought up to lives of immorality. Mr Macdonald had frequent interviews with the heads of the police and conferences with his fellow-missionaries in connection with this painful subject, but confessed that these efforts were in most cases almost fruitless. But it was with much gratification that he took part in the formation of a Society for the Protection of Children in India during the closing years of his life.

Another paper written by Mr Macdonald was *Fine Arts and Pure Morals*. It appeared in the *Indian Evangelical Review* in 1889,

and was afterwards reprinted in separate form. There was a good deal being said at the time about the revival of the ancient Indian arts, and the Calcutta University was about to hold its first examination in drawing. Mr Macdonald did not neglect the opportunity of pointing a moral. In the past history of India, he said, the fine arts had been wedded to immorality, superstition and idolatry, and as a consequence the fine arts of India were to all intents and purposes dead. In the movement for the revival of the fine arts in India it was necessary to bear this in mind, if it was to result in any permanent good. Nearly all the street music in India was obscene, the handmaid of idolatry and superstition; so were Hindu architecture, poetry, painting and sculpture. But the bulk of the paper consisted of extensive quotations, from Mr Ruskin's *Two Paths*, of the words addressed by that master of art criticism and English prose to the art students of Kensington Museum. The well-known passage contrasting the Hindus with the Scottish Highlanders is quoted, it need hardly be said *in extenso*. The Highlanders were careless of art and apparently incapable of it—the tartan being about their only achievement in this direction; yet they were distinguished by courage, self-sacrifice, purity and piety. The Hindus rejoiced in art, and were eminently and universally endowed with the gift of it. For the crimes they were capable of, he referred to the horrors of the recent Mutiny, where the cruelty and treachery that came out of their ivory palaces were brought into striking contrast with the heroism of the Highland soldiers. The more general statement follows that a study of history demonstrates a connection between great success in art with subsequent national degradation. The aim of Mr Ruskin, and of Mr Macdonald in quoting him, was not of course to discourage art, but to show that if it was not to be demoralising but elevating in its tendency, it must be kept in contact with reality, must be true to fact, must be inspired by a spirit of purity, and dedicated to high and noble aims.

It was, unfortunately, not with immorality among the Hindus and Mohammedans alone that Mr Macdonald was called upon to deal. The example set by many of his own countrymen was in this respect shameful to the last degree; nor was he the man to show respect of persons in dealing with any form of vice. The protests against the wholesale importation of European women to India for immoral purposes were those that the Government, as a

rule, were most ready to listen to and to act upon. It was a matter that concerned European *prestige*, and native prejudice was not involved. From time to time some of the wretches who traded on these women were deported from the country by the Government in the exercise of its summary powers. There was still another phase of the evil that cannot be ignored. At one time, when Mr Macdonald was acting as pastor of Wellesley Square Free Church, a European professed conversion under his preaching. Mr Macdonald had the gratification of persuading him to marry the native woman with whom he had been living, and also of performing the ceremony. At a later date he had the still greater gratification of admitting this woman and her children to the Christian Church by baptism.

How much room there still is for improvement in the morals of Calcutta is indicated by a fact brought out by the census of 1901, that one out of every fourteen of its female population is following what the Report describes as a "disreputable occupation."

CHAPTER VII

TRAVEL AND ADVENTURE

"Wherever I wander, wherever I stay, my heart is in India, in deep sympathy with its multitudinous inhabitants, and in earnest longings for their highest welfare, in time and in eternity."—ALEXANDER DUFF (*his last published words*).

ONE of the most exciting events in Mr Macdonald's early days in Calcutta was the great cyclone on the 5th October 1864. The Bay of Bengal is one of those regions where climatic disturbances of this kind are most frequent. The term itself was introduced by a Calcutta meteorologist, Mr Piddington, in 1848, to describe this particular variety of hurricane. A year seldom passes in lower Bengal without a cyclonic storm of more or less severity, while three or four in a single year are not uncommon. The cyclone of 1864, however, was of altogether exceptional gravity, and it was accompanied by a tidal wave that sent a number of ships to the bottom of the Hooghly and left others high and dry on the Strand Road. An immense amount of property was destroyed, and the mission buildings both in Calcutta and in the rural districts were seriously damaged. The calamity, however, brought with it some compensation, by drawing forth the sympathy and practical aid of the friends of the mission. It was specially gratifying to the missionaries when several Hindu gentlemen offered to provide temporary accommodation for the Christian schools in their idol halls. Mr Macdonald does not seem to have left any record of his experiences in the cyclone, but the following is an extract from a letter dated 10th October, written by his wife to her sister:—

"The terrific hurricane which visited us on the 5th is still the all-absorbing topic of conversation at present, and I don't know what else to write about. Our house and compound have suffered severely, but by God's mercy our lives have been spared, for which we did not fail to give Him thanks as soon as the storm subsided. The devastation and loss of life are really awful, everywhere we

turn our eyes it is one scene of ruin and desolation. Kenneth and I were out for a drive early this morning, and saw much of the destruction around us. The European Orphan Asylum was a beautiful house with a large compound surrounded by a high wall and magnificent trees. To-day there is not a tree standing, and the wall and house are in a most dilapidated condition. The Calcutta theatre, a new building, has fallen in with a crash, there are only a few bricks left standing on one side. The steeple of the Free Church has been broken, and some of the ornaments having fallen on the roof, have made a hole in it just over our pew, and I believe the chair on which I used to sit was crushed to atoms by the bricks and roof falling through. It would be endless to attempt to describe the catastrophe fully. You will see it all in the newspapers Kenneth is sending."

The following year, 1865, was a troubled one in the Macdonalds' domestic circle, which now included a baby boy. There was a deficiency of about 20 inches in the rainfall, which averages about 70 inches in the year. As a consequence the heat was exceptionally prolonged and severe. The little child was ill for about five months, and his mother also had a severe attack of fever. Early in the year Mr Macdonald broke his arm in a driving accident, from which his wife and child seemed to have a miraculous escape. Later in the year the Orphanage, which was still their home, was struck by lightning. Mr Macdonald and four of the children were standing close to a window at the time watching the storm. The glass was shattered to atoms, and the framework of the venetian shutters shivered to splinters. All five were thrown to the ground, but although they suffered considerably from nervous shock, they were otherwise unhurt. A more serious, if less dramatic affliction from which Mr Macdonald suffered during the rainy season (June to September) was a severe attack of boils. This is a distemper very common among Europeans in India, especially during their early hot seasons, and Mr Macdonald had suffered in the same way in the previous three years. This attack, however, was much more grave. For some time he was confined to a couch, unable to stand or to sit. During these long days of enforced idleness, his mind revolved a plan of a long tour during the approaching cold weather vacation. He was weary of the dead level of the plains of Bengal, and longed for a glimpse of the hills and the sea. He sketched out a campaign of 4500 miles, to visit the other centres

of the Free Church's work in India. His colleagues were not merely willing, but anxious, that he should extend the time of his tour into the new session in order that he might get at once a thorough rest and change, and a comprehensive and satisfactory view of the other missions. As a student, he had been compelled to study economy in travelling as in everything else, and he calculated that the trip would not cost him more than he was willing to pay for the benefit it would bring alike to mind and body. It was an investment, he said, that would prove profitable in future years.

On 6th December he left Howrah by train for Agra, where he was delighted, as no traveller can fail to be, with its architectural beauties and its historic interest. The Taj Mahal, the Fort, the Palace, the tomb of the great Akbar at Secundra, all received their due meed of praise. But an Institution that appealed with even greater force to him was the large Orphanage of the Church Missionary Society, which contained over 300 children, and was said to be at that time the largest establishment of its kind in India. Among the industries taught to the boys was printing, and three religious periodicals were published at their press, the *Secundra Messenger*, the *Carrier Dove*, and *Missionary Notes and Queries*. After visiting Delhi he returned to Cawnpore, where he was hospitably entertained by a convert of the Calcutta Institution, who was employed there as head teacher of the Church Mission School. The Memorial Well, which marks the resting-place of many of the victims of the massacre, with the Angel of the Resurrection standing over it in white marble, impressed him as the most beautiful sight in the whole Gangetic plain; and many other visitors have agreed with his verdict. From Cawnpore he went by dak-carriage or mail-cart to Lucknow. Here, again, he was welcomed by one of the Calcutta converts, also engaged in educational work. There was another along with him, but he was away being married. One of these was no doubt Ram Chunder Bose, a convert of much ability, who became widely known in India as the author of several works on religion and philosophy. Another friend in Lucknow was Mr A. Thomson, formerly of the Calcutta Institution, who had resigned on the day of Mr Macdonald's arrival. He was now in Government service, and occupying a highly important and influential position as Principal of the Canning College. There he taught the sons of the *taluqdars* or landed aristocracy of Oudh.

He was still deeply interested in mission work, which he found many opportunities of helping. Returning to Cawnpore, Mr Macdonald went back by rail to Allahabad, and thence to Mirzapore, where again he was delighted to meet a Calcutta convert—the first whom he had himself baptised—who was headmaster of the London Mission School. In this post he had succeeded another Calcutta convert who had been promoted to a higher appointment elsewhere. In whatever way the idea has arisen that our educational missions have not been fruitful in conversions, it has not been from a careful study of their history.

The traveller now left the line of rail, which had carried him so far on his journey, with the exception of the distance between Cawnpore and Lucknow, and struck south to Jabalpur by mail-cart. The distance is 245 miles, and the time occupied was thirty-two hours. The journey was interesting at first, for the air of North India in the winter season is cool and bracing, and the hilly country traversed afforded some variety of scenery. But the traveller had to sit bolt upright all the time, and the only way by which he could get a sleep was by strapping himself to the cart. At Jabalpur he was again the guest of Calcutta converts of his own mission. Two brothers were in charge of flourishing schools, and one of them was also manager of a very successful printing press, the property of another Indian Christian. Jabalpur was marked by Mr Macdonald as the spot where the stream of Christian influence from the Calcutta Mission met and mingled with that which flowed from Nagpur. The Free Church Institution in the latter place, now known as the Hislop College, and the two schools taught by Bengali Christians at Jabalpur, were at that time the principal educational establishments in the Central Provinces.

The next stage in the journey, from Jabalpur to Kamptee, was tedious in the extreme. The distance is 160 miles, and it took three days and three nights to cover it. The road was under construction, and the bridges unfinished. At one place it took three hours to travel six miles, although the horses were changed three times. For several stages the cart was drawn by bullocks at the rate of two-and-a-half miles an hour. But Kamptee was reached at last, at ten o'clock one night. It is a military cantonment,[1] ten

[1] Since the above was written it has been intimated that Lord Kitchener has ordered the abolition of the Kamptee cantonment and the removal of the troops elsewhere.

miles north-east of Nagpur. In the earlier years of the mission, work was carried on there regularly by the Nagpur missionaries, both among the European troops and the natives. At a later date this branch of the work was transferred to the American Methodist Episcopal Mission. Mr Macdonald was fortunate in arriving at Kamptee at a time when the annual examinations of the schools were being conducted. The Nagpur mission was there in force—Messrs Cooper, Dawson, Dalziel and Young—and from them, as well as from several Christian officers who took a deep interest in the mission, the visitor from Calcutta received a hearty welcome, and with them he had much pleasant intercourse. He accompanied the missionaries on their return by road to Nagpur in a conveyance called a *shigram*, and there had the additional pleasure of meeting Dr John Wilson of Bombay, who was, like himself, visiting Nagpur for the first time. This fortuitous concourse of missionaries, representing eastern, western, and central India, afforded an opportunity for an exchange of information and experience that was felt by all to be stimulating and profitable. Mr Macdonald's host at Nagpur was Mr Dawson, who had been his fellow-student in Edinburgh, and who was afterwards chiefly known in connection with his work among the Gonds at Chindwara.

To his great regret he could only spend three days in Nagpur. Had he been able to spend a few days longer he would have been present at the opening of an industrial exhibition, and would have had Dr Wilson as a travelling companion to Bombay. The railway was not then completed to Nagpur, and the journey to Bombay was a very broken one. He had the loan of Mr Young's horse for the first twenty-two miles to Bori, near the place where Stephen Hislop had been drowned two years before. Thence he drove forty miles to the Wardha river, in a diminutive bullock cart locally known as a *ringy*. At Wardha he was to join a railway contractor's engine, but on reaching that place he found that it was not to leave till thirty hours later. Part of the time of waiting he spent in examining one of the mud forts which were common in that part of India. When the engine did start he found that it went that day only half the distance he had expected, and the missionary and the engine-driver found themselves compelled to spend the night at a roadside station where only one bed was to be had. The engine-driver generously offered it to the missionary, but the latter gratefully declined it, on the ground that

his companion's hard day's work had given him a preferential claim. Mr Macdonald, before settling down to sleep on a table, invited the engine-driver to prayer, and took the opportunity of entering into religious conversation with him. He turned out to be an Edinburgh man, and his wife, left at home, belonged to Inverness. He said that was the first time he had heard the voice of prayer since he came to India six months before. Owing to some breakdown in the railway company's arrangements another whole day was wasted at Sheagaum. The next day a fireman fell from the engine and had one leg cut off at the knee by the train. The Thul Ghaut, where the railway sweeps down from the Deccan to the plains, was passed in moonlight, very carefully, and with some anxiety, because, ten days earlier, a goods train had been dashed over the precipice at a reversing station, with considerable loss of life.

Arriving at Bombay on Saturday morning, 30th December, Mr Macdonald was the guest of the Free Church minister there, the Rev. Dugald Boyd (afterwards of Portsoy), who, by a curious coincidence, was the only man who had been his class-fellow throughout his entire course at the New College. They had begun at the same time, missed the same session, resumed and finished their studies together. The Established Church chaplain of Bombay, the Rev. D. Macpherson, had been his class-fellow for four years at King's College, Aberdeen. He found much to see and do and interest him in Bombay. He preached for Mr Boyd on Sunday, and with him attended meetings for Scottish engineers and mechanics in the P. & O. yards; visited Mrs Nesbit's boarding school, and a colony of *jogis* or Hindu ascetics on Malabar Hill. Above all, he took a keen pleasure in meeting and conversing with the educated English-speaking Hindus. Prominent among these was Ram Chunder Balkrishna, to whom he was introduced by Mr Dhanjibhoy. He spent an evening with this gentleman's family, found his library well stocked with Christian books, heard his children repeating Christian hymns, and joined the whole household when they engaged in family worship. Of course he visited the Elephanta Caves, under the expert guidance of Dr Wilson, and the Karli Caves, between Bombay and Poona, which are among the finest specimens of Buddhist rock temples.[1] His intercourse with the Parsees introduced him to a new phase of

[1] The caves of Ellora and Ajunta, which the traveller did not visit, are much finer.

religious belief, represented only to a slight extent in Bengal. He saw the Parsee Benevolent Institution, where 1557 boys and 1054 girls were being educated, examined a Parsee girls' school of a higher grade, and visited the Parsee College of Divinity, for the training of their priests. There he had an interesting conversation with the students, gaining much information about the Zoroastrian faith and practices, and explaining to them the way of salvation through Christ.

Going on to Poona, he was entertained with much kindness by Mr and Mrs Gardner, and spent three or four most enjoyable days. He writes that he never witnessed a more interesting sight than the assembly of red-turbaned Maratha Brahmins, who gathered to hear him address them in the Free Church Institution. He spoke to them "on the points on which they might be considered superior to the Bengali students, and the still more numerous and important points in which the Bengali students were superior to them." In stature, complexion, strength of body and physical courage, and in the recollection of the brave part played by their ancestors in the history of India—in Calcutta the Maratha ditch[1] was a memorial of their prowess—they took precedence of the Bengalis. But the latter excelled them in general culture, in liberal education, in comparative freedom from the bonds of caste, in the progress they had made in religious inquiry, in their organisation for the worship of the one true God, and above all in the readiness they showed to embrace the Christian faith. He had also the opportunity of addressing the Christian community in Poona, missionaries, converts and orphans, on missionary work in Bengal. On the Sunday he had the pleasure of hearing the veteran missionary, the Rev. James Mitchell, then in the forty-fourth year of his service in India, preach in Marathi, to a gathering which included the Established Church of Scotland orphanage, under the charge of the chaplain's wife, as well as the Free Church native congregation.

Returning to Bombay, he sailed for the South by the British Indian Steam Navigation Company's steamer *Cheduba*. Messrs William and Peter Mackinnon and the other partners of that firm were among the most liberal supporters of the Free Church's work in India, and granted its missionaries the great boon of passages

[1] In those days European residents in Calcutta were often called "Ditchers" after the Maratha ditch.

at half the usual fares. This was a very great privilege in the days when a short sea voyage was often the only means available for the restoration of health and strength after illness. Among the other passengers was a Mr Brown, a merchant prince of Bombay, and a son of the Rev. Dr Charles Brown, of the New North Church, Edinburgh, and a number of Christian officers, also a circus company, with dogs, horses and monkeys, which so crowded the ship that Mr Macdonald had to do without a cabin. On the Malabar coast they called at Carwar and Mangalore, but although the passengers went ashore at the latter place they had not time to see the work of the German missionaries, whose industrial schemes have been singularly successful. Mr Macdonald, to save time, decided to cross India from Calicut to Madras by land. Landing in a heavy surf at dead of night at Old Calicut, he drove in a native cart seven miles to Beypore, where he joined the railway, which took him in a day to Salem. Arriving there by night, he found that if he wished to continue his journey at once, he must buy a "night ticket," for which a higher fare was charged than for a day ticket. Nor were any third-class tickets issued for the night trains, so that if a passenger had a servant with him he had to go to the further expense of paying second-class fare for him. The opportunity of ringing a change upon the time-worn joke about the "benighted Presidency" was too good to be lost, and it is duly recorded. He indulged in the luxury of the night train, and arrived at the mission-house in Madras to find Messrs Miller, Stevenson, Rajahgopaul and Mrs Anderson sitting at breakfast. To none of them was he a stranger. Mr Miller and Mr Stevenson had been his fellow-students, the former his class-fellow in Edinburgh, and he had met Mr Rajahgopaul and Mrs Anderson four years earlier when he had paid a short visit to Madras on his way to Calcutta. By all he was heartily welcomed. The mission had been at a very low ebb on his previous visit; now all was changed. The staff had been reinforced, and a spirit of energy had been infused into all the agencies. The missionaries' chief difficulty now was to find accommodation for the ever-increasing number of pupils who were applying for admission to the Institution. "It is remarkable," an American missionary once said to the writer, "how much of your country you Scotchmen bring with you when you come to India." We have seen how Mr Macdonald foregathered with old fellow-students at Nagpur, Bombay and Madras.

At the last place he also met a fellow-missionary, the Rev. John Macmillan, who had in boyhood attended with him the same village school in Glen Urquhart. He made the acquaintance of Drs Carslaw and Paterson for the first time, and was impressed by the work of the former in his school, and of the latter in his dispensary. After seeing as much as time permitted of the work of his own and other missions in Madras, he rejoined the *Cheduba*, and after coasting up by Masulipatam, Coconada, Vizagapatam and Bimlipatam, and passing in full sight of the great Juggernath Temples and the Black Pagoda, reached the Sandheads very early on a Monday morning in the beginning of February. On the evening of the same day he walked into the orphanage as Mrs Macdonald was conducting evening worship with the girls, and was grateful to find that both she and their child were restored to health. He felt deeply thankful to God for His goodness to himself in his journeys and to his dear ones in his absence. He felt that his travels had been a stimulus to himself in every way, physically, mentally and spiritually, and much as he rejoiced to see the progress the missions of his Church were making elsewhere, he came back more proud than ever of the city to which his untravelled heart had always turned.

The gathering which the missionaries addressed on Sunday mornings "in the large hall of our glorious Institution in Calcutta, will yield the palm to no assembly that I have been privileged to behold on earth. As an institution for the Christian education of boys and young men I do not believe its equal exists in point of interest to the Christian and the philanthropist." In the University examinations Mr Macdonald's own pupils did exceedingly well. Among his papers we find letters to him from Dr John Wilson in Bombay and Principal Miller in Madras, written not long after his visits to them, in which they congratulate him on the success of his students, and confess that in their own spheres they cannot in the meantime boast of the same degree of academic success. Time has brought changes. The union of several missions in Madras for the purposes of higher education has given the Christian College, which now replaces the old Free Church Institution, a position of commanding influence; while in Calcutta the re-opening of the General Assembly's Institution, which had been closed since the Disruption, by the Established Church in 1867, and the very success of the educational policy which Dr Duff had done so much to

inaugurate, and which soon led to the establishment of a large number of native colleges, caused the numbers attending the Free Church Institution there to decline from the high figures to which they had risen in the days referred to by Mr Macdonald in the remarks just quoted.

Calcutta itself has never within recent times been visited by famine, but in 1866 its inhabitants were witnesses of the terrible sufferings which the great famine of that year caused in Orissa. The poor people of India, it has been truly said, reckon time by famines, and this famine is still remembered as the most acute, although not the most widespread, of the century. The population of Orissa before the famine was estimated at five million souls. Of these it is said that from a fourth to a third perished of hunger in 1866. The means of communication were few and tedious, and by the time the serious condition of affairs had become apparent, it was impossible to send food into the country in time to save the people. Many thousands of the people crawled into Calcutta, reduced to skin and bone, and lay down to die on the banks of the Hooghly. For there is a stage in starvation when not even food itself can avert death, but seems in many cases to accelerate it. Mr Macdonald describes it as an awful sight. Still he says it was less terrible than scenes which he and Dr Duff had once witnessed during an epidemic of malarial fever in the Hooghly District. Fever is always endemic there, but from time to time in certain places it seems to acquire, from some unexplained cause, a specially virulent character, when it sweeps through the population as destructively as the plague. It was in Bansberia and Tribeni that Mr Macdonald saw the effects of such a visitation not long after his arrival in India. The banks of the river were crowded with the dead and the dying; the population was decimated in the course of the year.

CHAPTER VIII

EARLY CONTROVERSIES

"Mr Murray praised the ancient philosophers for the candour and good humour with which those of different sects disputed with each other. JOHNSON: 'Sir, they disputed with good humour, because they were not in earnest as to religion.'" —BOSWELL.

ONE of the many changes Dr Macdonald noted in the course of his long ministry in Calcutta, was that in the attitude of the educated non-Christian Bengalis towards the Bible. In the earlier days, the attack followed on the lines laid down by such men as Ingersoll, Bradlaugh, Tom Paine and Voltaire. It was characterised by venom, malice, abuse and misrepresentation of the grossest kind. Everything that was nasty, and that could be construed as discreditable to Christianity, was culled from English newspapers and reproduced in the native press. The Scriptures were diligently searched for extracts which, often garbled and misquoted, were held up to public ridicule or denounced as immoral. Dr Robson, who at that time was closely associated with Mr Macdonald, not only in the college but in evangelistic and controversial work outside, often accompanied him to meetings where lectures of this kind were being delivered, to protest against anything that was patently absurd or unfair. One of the lions of those days was the headmaster of one of the largest and most popular schools in Calcutta. An able man, a very acute thinker, and a fluent speaker, he had also a great command of ridicule, and was withal a bitter opponent of Christianity. It was widely advertised that he was to deliver a series of lectures on the Bible. The two missionaries attended the first, and found that it was the lecturer's intention to begin at the first chapter of Genesis and to proceed to the end of Revelation, in the spirit of carping criticism, ridicule, caricature and misinterpretation. After thinking over the matter carefully, they came to the conclusion that in the circumstances argument would probably do more harm than good,

and that the most effective plan would be to hoist the engineer on his own petard. They came back to the second day's lecture, and, standing up one after the other at the close, poured upon the bald head of the lecturer a flood of innocent and good-humoured ridicule. They carried the audience with them, and the poor schoolmaster was simply crushed under the roars of laughter from his Hindu fellow-countrymen. He never again ventured to lecture against the Bible or Christianity. The missionaries felt that although their tactics had been eminently successful on this occasion, they were methods which should be used very sparingly and only in exceptional circumstances.

A campaign against Vedantism was being prosecuted at the same time by Mr Macdonald, Dr Robson, Mr Kali Churn Banerjea and the Rev. Lal Behari Day. The last named was one of the ablest and most scholarly converts of the mission, and the author of *Bengal Village Life* and other well-known works. He has been described as the most idiomatic writer of English that Bengal has produced. A lecture on Jesus Christ, delivered in 1866 by Keshub Chunder Sen, the head of the progressive party in the Theistic Church, known as the Brahmo Somaj, caused a good deal of dissatisfaction among the more conservative members of that community, on account of its strongly Christian tone. This led them to engage in a polemic with a double aim. One was to reject the gross idolatry of the Puranas, or more recent Hindu scriptures, and to exalt the more spiritual teaching of the more ancient Vedas, especially of their theological and philosophical elements, called the Vedanta, and contained in the Upanishads. The other was to assail the doctrine and character of Jesus Christ. This party styled themselves Vedantists, and one of their ablest men, Babu Crish Chunder Ghose, delivered a lecture on the *Decline of Christianity*. Dr Robson was there, and announced at the close that he would reply next evening in the hall of the Free Church Institution, and did so. Mr Macdonald followed up with a lecture on the Testimony of Babu Crish Chunder Ghose himself in favour of Christianity and against Deism. By means of lectures and public debates, and in the columns of the newspapers, the discussion was carried on with vigour, and the missionaries were satisfied that the general result was in favour of the exposure of error and the diffusion of Christian truth.

The battle with Neo-Hinduism, in one form or another,

Vedantism, Neo-Krishnaism, Neo-Vaishnavism, etc., was incessant. Mr Macdonald's general objection to all these movements was that they consisted mainly of reading into the Hindu scriptures ideas borrowed without acknowledgment from Christianity, and that as purely theistic systems they lacked the theological consistency, the spiritual beauty and the moral dynamic of Christianity. "I meet daily with babus," he says in his lecture on Ram Mohun Roy, "who make a great deal of the supposed monotheism of the primitive Vedic hymns, but I meet with none who have found it there." His arguments were afterwards embodied in a lecture on *The Insufficiency of Mere Theism*, which belongs to a later part of our story. *Pantheism and Vedantism*, *Krishnaism*, *Neo-Vaishnavism or Neo-Vishnuvitism*, were other articles, lectures or pamphlets published at different times in connection with the same controversy.

It must be remembered at the same time that Mr Macdonald's attitude towards the theistic movement among the Hindus was by no means confined to hostile criticism. No one was more ready to recognise all that was good in it than he; he was at one with them, and worked heartily with them, in every genuine effort towards social reform and religious liberty. He recognised even in their hostility to Christianity a sign of intellectual awakening, and an evidence that the repeated impact of Christian truth was making an impression on their minds. Rajah Ram Mohun Roy he regarded with an admiration which, while discriminating, was sincere and almost affectionate. That great leader—often called the Luther of Reform in Bengal, but perhaps more correctly described as its Erasmus—may have been lacking in moral courage, but in intellectual honesty he set an example which Mr Macdonald often urged his Bengali fellow-countrymen to imitate. He renounced the teachings of Hinduism and denounced idolatry.[1] He frankly drew his inspiration from the Christian Scriptures. He took part regularly in Christian worship, and took an active part in promoting Christian education. His *Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness*, although attacked from the dogmatic point of

[1] The Rajah himself would have emphatically denied that he had renounced Hinduism. He said he was a true Hindu, resuscitating the ancient faith. His precise relation to Christianity is a subject upon which there has always been difference of opinion. It seems to have varied a good deal in the course of his life.

view by Dr Marshman of Serampore, was the means of awakening in not a few a spirit of inquiry which led them ultimately to Christ. He studied the Christian Scriptures in the original Hebrew and Greek, and publicly professed his belief in the unity and personality of God and in the immortality of the soul. He had some difficulty in accepting without qualification the absolute Divinity of Christ, but acknowledged Him as the Redeemer of mankind, the Mediator and Intercessor with God on their behalf. He believed in the resurrection of Christ and that in the Great Day He would judge the living and the dead. He was free from extravagance or pretentiousness, and sought to exercise no spiritual lordship over his followers. "He was a good man," said Dr Macdonald in one of his best known and most interesting lectures, "who set up no high pretensions, either to humility or anything else." He was the personal friend of Dr Duff and his colleagues during the short time they were in Calcutta together. His crusade against idolatry, he said himself, "roused such a feeling against me that I was at last deserted by every person except two or three Scotch friends, to whom and to the nation to which they belong I always feel grateful." Yet he was never baptised; he resolutely kept his caste and died a Brahmin. He went to England in 1831, as an emissary of the Emperor of Delhi, who conferred on him the title of Rajah, and through his intercession secured a larger pension from the East India Company. Another object he had in view was to plead against the appeal to the Privy Council for the repeal of the law by which *suttee* was abolished. The abolition of that cruel custom had been brought about partly through his exertions, and the attempt to revive it was successfully resisted. A third object was to secure more generous treatment of the natives of India under the new charter which was being granted to the East India Company. He was formally presented to the King, and had a place assigned to him at the Coronation. Yet all this time he had two Hindu servants in attendance upon him, to enable him to conform to caste. When he lay dying in Bristol in October 1833, it was his Brahmin servant who performed the sacred rites preparatory for death and whispered *mantras* into his ear. The sacred Brahminical cord was found on his body after death, and he was buried in solemn silence, apart from Christians, in the shrubbery at Stapleton Grove. The reason why he had adhered so resolutely to caste was only too obvious. He had inherited considerable property from

his father, and, had he broken caste, it would have been lost to his family. When his cousins tried to disinherit him by proving that he had lost caste, he fought and gained his case against them in the Calcutta law courts, after a hearing that lasted two years and involved him in enormous costs. During the course of this lawsuit his theistic meetings were discontinued. He had once remarked that when he was dead, the Christians, Hindus and Mohammedans would all claim him as their own. Mr Macdonald said he regarded it as his pleasant duty, in speech, tract, lecture and pamphlet, to make the claim on behalf of the Christians.

Ram Mohun Roy died when Kenneth Macdonald was eighteen months old; Keshub Chunder Sen, born in 1838, was his contemporary and his personal friend. He used to say that he and the theistic leader began their ministry together. It was in 1861 that he was licensed to preach, and in the same year Keshub, in obedience, he averred, to a plain and unmistakable command from God to give up all secular work, resigned his appointment in the Bank of Bengal. He claimed to be in direct spiritual communication with God, and was appointed minister to the Brahmo Somaj, of which his friend and supporter Debendra Nath Tagore was now the head, in succession to Ram Mohun Roy. After some time Mr Sen parted company with Mr Tagore, and the result was a "split" in the Somaj. Caste is the rock upon which most Hindu reform movements make shipwreck, and the two subjects about which Mr Sen and Mr Tagore differed were essentially caste questions. The Tagore party disapproved of the marriages between people of different castes, since they were not in accordance with Hindu law and custom; the Sen party approved of them. Then the Tagore party were willing to admit to the Somaj pulpit weak brethren who had not the courage to discard the *poita* or sacred thread. The Sen party would exclude them. The more conservative party, who held the property, called themselves the *Adi* or original Brahmo Somaj. Keshub Chunder Sen called his the Theistic Church of India. As has been mentioned already, their attitude towards Christianity was a further cause of division between the conservative and the liberal sections of Ram Mohun Roy's later disciples.

In one matter Keshub Chunder Sen caused much disappointment to his Christian friends. After much agitation he had persuaded the Government to pass a special Marriage Act for the

Brahmos, as his followers were called, according to which the minimum age of the bride was to be fourteen years and that of the bridegroom sixteen. Yet he gave his own daughter in marriage to the Maharajah of Kuch Behar when both she and he were under these ages. Nor did he improve matters by asserting that God had signified His approval of this action in a message communicated direct to himself. Idolatrous rites were also practised at the marriage, but for this Keshub was not responsible, and it appears that he protested earnestly but ineffectually against them. Through this marriage the Theistic Church of India fell in two. The party that followed Keshub became the New Dispensation Church, while the larger party formed themselves into the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj. To the end Mr Macdonald and Keshub were good friends, often exchanging hospitality; but all the high hopes centred in the theistic leader—some of whose words are among the most memorable ever uttered in India—died with him in 1884, when his earthly career ended at the age of forty-five.

Young Kenneth Macdonald, like all true-blue Presbyterians, had been nurtured from infancy on undiluted anti-Popery doctrines. The Pope was antichrist; the *Confession of Faith* had no doubt about that. Among the few books in his father's scanty library, was a large quarto edition of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, the pictures of which, even more than the letterpress, were of endless interest to the young folks, whose appetites had not been satiated by a plethora of pictorial literature. As a student he had given due attention to the subject, as presented to him in the theological lectures of Principal Cunningham, the periodicals of the Scottish Reformation Society (under Dr Begg's vigorous leadership), and his general reading. When he came to Calcutta he found that he was at once brought into close contact with a party which he had been taught to regard with horror, and which had been known to him before only by reputation—the Jesuits; and in the well-furnished library of the Free Church Institution he found an armoury well able to supply him with weapons for the inevitable conflict. The Jesuits were then, as they are to-day, the rivals of the Scottish missionaries in educational work, and then, as now, they carried on an active propaganda, not only among Hindus but among Protestants as well; and the means used to induce the latter to enter their schools and colleges were, it was said, by no means always fair or honourable. Mr Macdonald felt it to be his duty to expose

their methods in the press, and did it so persistently, that it came to be understood among the Roman Catholics that any specially spirited attack upon them that appeared in the newspapers must be from the pen of the Scotch *padre*. The liveliest passage-at-arms was with Mr Henry Harrison of the Bengal Civil Service, of whom we are to hear more at a later stage. The Rev. Lal Behari Day had started a weekly journal, the *Friday Review*, somewhat on the model of the *Saturday Review*. In its columns he reproduced a challenge made by Bishop Jewell to the Roman Catholics to produce any evidence of a claim successfully put forward by the Bishops of Rome to rule over the other Bishops of Christendom, earlier than the sixth century. The challenge was taken up by Mr Harrison, a zealous convert to Romanism, who wrote as "a Catholic Layman." Mr Day then handed the matter over to Mr Macdonald, who at first had some difficulty in pinning down his opponent to a definite point of issue. At last he got him to stake his case upon the Council of Chalcedon, held in 451, at which, he said, the primacy of the Pope was fully acknowleged. Mr Macdonald found that the Institution library contained the original records of that Council, in Greek and Latin, as recorded in the Jesuit Father Harduin's edition of the Acts of the Councils. They proved beyond question that although Leo of Rome did make an effort through his legates to rule that Council, he was singularly unsuccessful. The legates were snubbed, Leo's orders were disobeyed, and his pretensions to supremacy were first ignored, and afterwards formally discussed and condemned. Mr Harrison by no means abandoned the controversy, but the Council of Chalcedon was not again referred to. During this discussion Mr Macdonald wrote in the editorial columns of the *Friday Review*, but some years later he republished the correspondence as an article in his own review, and then as a pamphlet, entitled *The Primacy of the Bishop of Rome*, with a short addition pointing out that even in New Testament times Peter was not invested with the authority which those who professed to be his successors claimed. He did not even preside at the first Council in Jerusalem; and if he did make any assertion of pre-eminence it is certain that Paul was ignorant of it.

Another controversy, which ended in much the same way, was provoked by two sermons preached in Calcutta by the most prominent Jesuit Father, a man eminent in the educational and

scientific world, against the Freemasons as a secret society. Mr Macdonald was not a Freemason, but many of his friends belonged to the order. He held no brief for them, and did not take the trouble to inquire whether the charges made against their constitution were true or false. What he did do was to produce the "Constitutions" of the Society of Jesus, to show that the strictures passed upon the Freemasons applied with much greater force to the Jesuits themselves. Every member of that organisation had handed himself over, body and soul, to his superior, in whose hands he was as a corpse, or a stick in the hands of an old man, to do with as he liked. This discussion attracted much attention on the part of the Calcutta public, and Mr Robert Knight, of the *Statesman*, on this as on several other occasions when religious and social questions were being discussed, placed his columns at Mr Macdonald's disposal and gave him his editorial support. In the end the Jesuit Father admitted that in some respects he had not verified his references.

Flushed with victory, Mr Macdonald now carried the war into the enemy's camp by exposing their inconsistency in teaching in their colleges books that were on the *Index Expurgatorius*, and the very perusal of which, according to several Popes, brought down upon the reader the curse of Peter and Paul, and ensured his eternal damnation. Among such books were Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* and Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which the Jesuit missionaries were obliged to teach in order to qualify their pupils for the University examinations. Against this charge the Jesuits seem to have preserved a discreet silence.

Another phase of the anti-Popery controversy, although it belongs to a later date, may be disposed of here. In connection with the Calcutta Auxiliary to the Bible Society, of which Mr Macdonald became Secretary, the question was asked by natives, Christian and non-Christian, why did not the Roman Catholic missionaries unite with the Protestants in the work of translating and circulating the Word of God? This elicited from Mr Macdonald a bulky pamphlet on *Rome's Relation to the Bible*, to prove that both before the Reformation and ever since the Roman Catholic Church had consistently opposed, actively or passively, all over the world, the translation of the Bible into the vernacular. It happened that it was just about this time that the first translation of the New Testament into Gaelic appeared. This pamphlet passed through several

editions, and provoked replies in the Roman Catholic press and in another pamphlet by a Roman Catholic priest. Mr Macdonald maintained that in none of these was the main issue fairly faced or any important statement he had made seriously challenged. The local Roman Catholic newspaper, the *Indo-European Correspondence*, paid him the compliment—which, as coming from such a quarter, he highly appreciated—that in this controversy he had been both *suaviter in modo* and *fortiter in re*.

It was about the same time that Mr Macdonald was brought into personal contact with the missionary work of the Roman Catholics in somewhat curious circumstances. A native Roman Catholic community in the Dacca District, of about 2000 souls, were showing a strong spirit of insubordination. They had brought a charge of immorality against their priest, and they refused to send their girls to a school where the only teacher was a man whose character, they said, was not above suspicion. On this account, they alleged, they had been practically excommunicated. Baptisms, marriages and funerals were interdicted among them. They invited Mr Macdonald to visit them, to inquire into their case, and he went, accompanied by some Bengali Christian friends. The condition of ignorance they found prevailing among them Mr Macdonald described as truly appalling. They possessed one solitary Gospel, which a Protestant lady had given to her cook; but printed rules about the fees and fines levied by the priest were common. The most curious piece of literature which came to light was a catechism, an amalgam of Hinduism and Christianity. According to it Brahmin converts were to be allowed to continue to wear the *poita* or sacred thread; and prayers were prescribed beginning with the Hindu formula, *Om*, *bhuh*, *bhuvah*, *svah*—Hindu prayers, in fact, with the name of Jesus Christ interpolated. In the correspondence which ensued with the Vicar-General of the Missao Portuguesa de Bengala, the latter suggested that it might be made a rule that girls were not to remain in school after ten or eleven years of age. Three years' schooling was quite sufficient for them, the main object of the school being religious instruction. It was not necessary to teach them to read, if they learned to repeat the Catechism. In the end the Roman Catholic authorities gave in and removed the obnoxious priest. The Vicar-General then wrote a polite letter to Mr Macdonald (although he had protested against his action as a breach of mission comity, the dispute not having been one regard-

ing matters of faith), in which he expressed a hope that "you will now let these poor people alone and not molest them in any way for their having made up with their mission." Mr Macdonald believed that had the matter not been settled in a way satisfactory to the people, the whole community would have placed themselves under Protestant instruction.

All these incidents led Mr Macdonald to make a careful study of the history of Roman Catholic missions in India. Among his papers is a fragment on the subject, with no date, of which there is no trace among his published writings. Imperfect as it is, it tells an extraordinary story of the work of Xavier and his successors. Even ten years before Xavier arrived in India, the inhabitants of thirty villages in Comorin were baptised as the result of help given them by the Portuguese against their Mussulman oppressors. Their number was estimated at 20,000. Xavier is said to have made Travancore "altogether Christian," and founded forty-five churches along the coast. By the year 1548, 200,000 Christians might be reckoned along the two coasts running north from Cape Comorin. De Nobili in 1609 writes that he is physically unable to baptise all applicants. During his life, it is said, he baptised over 100,000 idolaters, of whom nearly all were of the Brahmin caste. In Lahore the work was as remarkable as in the South. In 1610 three princes of the blood-royal were baptised, and later the children of the Persian ambassador to the Moghul court. In the year mentioned the church of the Jesuits was thronged for twenty successive days from morning till night by audiences which numbered 3000 to 4000. The Fathers went about their functions in Lahore as if they were in Rome itself. In 1673 De Britto came to South India. His converts in Tanjore were too numerous to be counted, but when they had a dispute with their rulers and threatened to leave the country, their grievances were removed from the fear that their departure would depopulate the State. In one day he baptised "3000 pagans," and on another occasion 12,000 in ten days. Bouchet baptised 30,000 idolaters and Laynez 50,000. Father Martin stated in 1698 that in his day no missionary baptised fewer than 1000 converts yearly. For more than 200 years these Jesuits pursued their work with almost unvarying success. In 1755, by orders from Portugal, 127 Jesuits were imprisoned at Goa, and others throughout the country were allowed to starve. The prisoners were sent to Lisbon, and of the

many thousand missionaries to India, China and America, all except forty-five died in prison. In 1773 the Society of Jesus was suppressed by a brief of Clement XIV.

Positivism was another foe in conflict with which Mr Macdonald bore the heat and burden of the day. Among his fellow-passengers to India in 1862 was Mr Samuel Lobb, who was coming out to join the Government educational service. He was a man of cultured scholarship, an able and fluent writer, and rose rapidly both in public estimation and in official preferment. At the time now referred to he was Principal of the Government College at Hoogly. He was an enthusiastic disciple of Auguste Comte, and with the help of several other Government servants, covenanted and uncovenanted, who shared his convictions, he opened a campaign in the year 1869 with the avowed object of spreading their faith among the educated English-speaking classes in Bengal. At first their efforts were highly successful. Positivism seemed to come in like a flood. At one time it looked as if the entire Bengali press was to be captured. The *Bengali* especially, one of the largest and most influential of the native papers published in English, opened its columns to Mr Lobb, whose vigorous articles appeared week after week. The leaders of this new cult attacked Christianity, but flattered Hinduism; they condemned the remarriage of widows, which, although legalised in 1856 through the exertions of a Bengali reformer, Pandit Iswar Chundra Vidyasagar, was still extremely unpopular, and they were all in favour of Indian national aspirations. All this tickled the ears of the Hindus, but some of the more clear-headed Brahmos soon perceived that the postulates of Positivism, if once granted, would soon undermine the foundations of Hinduism and Brahmoism alike. Controversy, like poverty, makes strange bed-fellows. It was the editor of the *National Paper*, the organ of the Adi Somaj, or conservative section of the Hindu Theists, who offered to place his periodical at Mr Macdonald's disposal if he would undertake to reply to the *Bengali* and Mr Lobb. He was more than willing to do this, and month after month a vigorous discussion went on. It was conducted with great good spirit on both sides. Mr Lobb at one time offered to publish Mr Macdonald's articles along with his own at his own expense; but the arrangement fell through, although the generosity that prompted it was fully acknowledged. One evening Mr Macdonald was announced to lecture at Howrah on *Auguste Comte, the Positivist.*

On arriving at the place of meeting, he was surprised and not a little gratified to find that Mr Lobb had come down from Hoogly, twenty-four miles distant by rail, to attend the lecture. He was to spend the night in the railway station and return to Hoogly by an early train, in order to be in time for his day's work. This lecture was published by request, and translated into Bengali. Four editions were printed, two in English and two in Bengali. Strange to say, through the intervention of Mr Henry Harrison, this discussion in Calcutta attracted some attention in Europe. In the first number of the *Dublin Review* Mr Harrison had an article, in which he described the parts taken in the controversy both by Mr Lobb and Mr Macdonald. As a devout Catholic he naturally sympathised with the latter. "The result has shown," his paper concluded, "that Positivism as a system, based on an avowed repudiation of God as any motive for human action, or as in any way known to us or knowable, is totally alien to the Hindu constitution, and years of religious chaos must pass before it will obtain any hold of their mind." Mr Macdonald agreed with the writer that the movement inaugurated by Mr Lobb with so much promise of success had produced little result, for in a few years it practically died out; but he could not accept the statement that atheism was "totally alien to the Hindu constitution." The study of the rise and development of primitive atheistic Buddhism and other professedly atheistic Hindu sects, had left a very different impression on his own mind; and when Dr Duff began his work in 1830, he found infidelity of the most pronounced type rampant among the educated young men of Calcutta.

Another crusade, in which the Christian missionary made common cause with his friend the Brahmo editor, was not of a controversial character. It was carried on in the interests of healthy bodily recreation. Physical indolence, associated with great mental activity, Mr Macdonald writes, characterised the Bengali student in the 'sixties and 'seventies. Like other Hindus, he was an expert in certain curious performances—in suspending respiration for a surprisingly long time, or in inhaling by one nostril and exhaling by the other. They have treatises on these and other similar subjects, one of the main objects of Hindu asceticism being to obtain mastery over the physical functions. One of the favourite games among the boys was for one boy to run into the enemy's camp, shouting "gooroo, gooroo," without intermission, to show

that he had not taken a new breath. If while doing this he could touch a boy of the opposite side that boy was "dead." Many of the Bengalis, too, were adepts in certain acrobatic performances, twisting and doubling themselves up as if their bodies consisted only of joints, or contorting and transposing their abdominal organs in defiance of anatomy. But as a people they were indisposed to bodily exercise. To sit was better than to stand, to stand was better than to walk, and running was an abomination. Earthly bliss was dreamless sleep, and heavenly hope was that of final unconsciousness through absorption into the supreme being. Card-playing and chess (or *pachasi*) were the popular amusements. The educational authorities paid very little attention to gymnastics or outdoor games. Few of the schools had gymnasia, and those that had did not use them. In the comparative darkness of the basement floor of the Free Church Institution was some apparatus, chiefly parallel bars, but no boy was ever by any chance seen exercising himself upon them. It was the editor of the *National Paper* who began a movement for the promotion of physical culture by gymnastic exercises. He sought Mr Macdonald's help, and had no difficulty in securing it. He was not content wtth simply advocating the cause of bodily exercise in his paper; he started a class for practising gymnastics, which met with so much success that it was soon patronised by high officials and imitated by a large number of schools and colleges. At the public exhibitions in connection with these classes Mr Macdonald was often asked to preside. He lived to see a marked and salutary change in this respect among the schoolboys and students of Bengal, who can now hold their own in athletic sports, not only with domiciled Europeans and Eurasians, but even with European soldiers fresh from home. During the later years of his life it gave him great pleasure to see the enthusiasm with which the Bengalis went in for football and cricket, hockey and polo. He often stood on the *maidan*, or public meadow of Calcutta, when out for his evening airing, to watch the matches, and followed the games with much interest. He was delighted to see the crowds of Bengalis who were looking on and enjoying the game.

A missionary's life naturally divides itself into distinct periods, punctuated by furloughs. Mr Macdonald's first furlough, due, according to the rules then in force, after ten years' service,

was in 1872. During this term of service there had been many changes in the staff, and three ordained missionaries were sometimes doing the work for which five or six had previously been considered necessary. Mr Martin Mowat joined the mission in 1866. Dr Robson left the mission soon after this, to enter the Government Educational Department. The Rev. John Don, who had also arrived in 1862, became pastor of Wellesley Square Free Church on the death of the Rev. John Pourie in 1867. The reduction in the staff was so serious in 1867 that the Rev. Dr J. Murray Mitchell, at the request of the Foreign Mission Committee, resigned his charge in Broughty Ferry and joined the Calcutta mission. In spite of all these changes the work continued to prosper. No year passed without some visible fruit being reaped. In 1869 the adult baptisms were thirteen in number, the converts being drawn from Mahanad and Kalna as well as from Calcutta. In 1871 an important building scheme was launched in connection with all the missions. In Calcutta the lack of suitable house accommodation had been a serious drawback. Mr Macdonald and some of his colleagues were compelled to reside in the European quarter, three or four miles from the College. Two hours a day were often spent by them in going to and returning from their work, through the narrow crowded streets. Rents are exorbitantly high in Calcutta, so the Committee was sometimes paying £1200 in rent for house property not worth £12,000. It was calculated that to build houses of their own would not only husband the strength of the missionaries and increase the efficiency of their work, but would also save a sum of money every year equal to the salary of another missionary. It was this scheme which led to the erection of a block of buildings in Beadon Street. They contained accommodation for the Orphanage and Boarding School for Girls, and also residences for several missionaries, one of which became Mr Macdonald's home from 1874.

In March 1871 Mrs Macdonald went home to Scotland with four children. The appointment of the Rev. James Robertson in 1871, and the prospective appintment of the Rev. John Hector a year later, made it possible for Mr Macdonald to proceed on furlough earlier than at one time seemed probable. He rejoined his family in Scotland in December 1871, within a few weeks of the tenth anniversary of his appointment.

Although the Gaelic was of very little use to Mr Macdonald as a

missionary in Calcutta, he found that he could turn it to good purpose as a missionary on furlough in Scotland. "Mr Macdonald," says the Foreign Mission Report for 1872, reviewing the deputation work for that year, "was able to undertake what had never before been attempted by any of our missionaries—to plead the cause of missions in our Highland congregations through the medium of the Gaelic language, and the Committee have received gratifying assurances of the value of his services in this interesting and previously untried work."

It was a stormy time in the history of the Free Church, especially in the Highlands. The "ten years' conflict" (1863-1873) over the question of union with the United Presbyterian Church had almost reached its climax, and feeling ran high. Mr Macdonald, in Calcutta, had followed the controversy with keen interest, which is attested by a collection of pamphlets found among his papers. All the ministers among their writers—Drs Begg, Smeaton, and Horatius Bonar, Mr Kennedy of Dingwall, and others, are strongly opposed to the proposed union. The other side, however, is well represented by a layman, Mr David Dickson, in a pamphlet entitled *An Elder's Thoughts on Union.* One of his stories is old enough to be new to at least a younger generation of readers. A man and his wife once agreed in everything, except that he was a Burgher and she an Antiburgher. During all their married life they had gone to their respective churches. The union of these Churches was proposed, and their ministers approved, to the great grief of this worthy couple. Said the wife: "We have lived a testifeein' life a' our days, and isn't it hard we canna end as we began?"

Mr Macdonald was heart and soul in sympathy with this union, and with any and *all* unions among Christians everywhere. He was sincerely distressed because so many of those who were dearest to him in the Highlands took up so extreme a position on the other side. The following letter, dated Calcutta, 14th December 1870, may be given here as an expression of his views on this matter:—

"My Dearest Mother,—I need not tell you how greatly grieved I am to find you opposed to the union of the various members of Christ's Church or body on earth. . One of the saddest sights to be seen in any family is disunion, but how much sadder is an effort made to prevent union! Now I know that in your own

heart, dearest mother, there is nothing that you with greater joy or pleasure do than join in our loving Saviour's prayer that all the members of His body may be one, one with Him and one with each other. I know that you could *not* go to the throne of grace and pray to God that His Church be kept from uniting together, and so giving to the world the grand evidence that they are His. I can easily conceive you praying to God that all barriers to union be removed, that the hills be made low, the rough places smooth, and the valleys elevated, so that the various members of His Church might easily approach each other. But you could not pray to God that barriers be raised and ditches be dug in order to keep them from one another. Yet that is what I conceive, and what I mourn and grieve to observe many Free Churchmen in Scotland are at the present moment doing."

The rest of the letter is an indignant protest against a remark which seems to have been made by a well-known Highland minister, that the advocates of union were putting the second table of the Law before the first, exalting love to man above love to God!

An undated letter to his brother Donald refers to the same subject:—

"I received no letter from Kilmuir by the last two or three mails, but I have to thank you for the *Presbyterian* and the extracts from the *Daily Review*. It is heartrending to see how the Free Church is divided against itself. It has a most injurious effect on the cause of Christianity throughout the world—a much more important cause than that of the Free Church. To my mind the best course would be to follow the American Presbyterian Churches and rewrite the chapter on the Magistrate, excluding from it those parts that refer to the duties of the magistrate, that is, in fact, the words, 'Yet he hath authority,' etc., to the end of section iii. of chap. xxii. The idea of the Church of Christ and the salvation of individual souls being imperilled on the interpretation of such an unimportant question as that is to me, I must confess, past all understanding. In presence of the millions upon millions of heathens abroad and infidels at home who are led astray by the divisions into which Christians are split, it is peculiarly sad that the purest and most evangelical branch of the Church of Christ should wrangle on a matter of such infinitesimal value as

that on which the Defence Association takes its stand.[1] And yet there are worse feelings manifested in connection with this little difference than there are on the most important questions."

The letter goes on to refer in very strong terms to the tone of a periodical long since dead: "There is no charity, no brotherly feeling, no sympathy with any one who is not able to pronounce their shibboleth without the least provincialism, and without the least sign of independence of thought. On the other hand it attributes every bad motive conceivable to every one that differs from it, and especially to those noble men whom God blessed to lead the Free Church through its various troubles in its past history. You will think that I am hard upon the other side. I admit it. But I think if you occupied, as we say, a like high place in the field as I do, apart from the strife in the midst of which you are, you would see more of its pettiness as regards the cause, but the fearfully injurious influences which it is throwing over the great and glorious cause of our loving Redeemer. Read the lesson which it gives you from the mouth of Keshub Baboo. . . . I depend upon your sending me the Assembly papers as usual."

The only other letter belonging to this early period is dated Calcutta, 6th April 1870, and is addressed to his mother:—

"Instead of writing to my sisters, to whom I generally write, I intend to write this note specially to you, to express our sympathy with you and Betsy and all of you, in the sad bereavement you suffered in the death of dear Rachel.[2] I am very sorry that I was not more mindful of Rachel in my home letters, but the fact is I never realised some way or other that she was more than a child, just as she was when I left her. She was always a wise, intelligent lassie, wiser than her years would lead one to expect, and I am very happy to learn that you had comforting hopes of her future happiness and glory. I cannot say that I receive much comfort from, or that I am on the other hand much depressed by, texts of Scripture, unless I observe in them a fitness or suitability to the case in hand. But if the words be applicable, the case is altogether different. The truth of God is and must be always comfortable to

[1] "They are squabbling about the United Presbyterian, Free Church, or Established, when the world is asking whether Christ is risen from the dead."—Dr NORMAN MACLEOD, *Memoir*, chap. xxiii.

[2] A niece, daughter of his sister Betsy.

those who believe in it when it speaks good things to their souls, and on the other hand very saddening when it speaks only of wrath and gloom. But although this is the case as regards myself, far be it from me to say that God does not speak to others more directly through His word than to me. I believe that in the case of all, God's Word is true, that it shall be to them as they believe, and that to you who believe in it a text of God's Word will teach more than it does to me. You have heard a good deal of those Brahmos who have forsaken idolatry and received a good many of the truths of Christianity. They at present profess to put their full trust in God's truth, as it arises as it were involuntarily and instinctively or intuitively, as they call it, to their minds. Now I believe a great number of the truths they thus receive, as they think instinctively, they have received unconsciously through Christian sources. In the same way I think with regard to you that a good many of the words of Scripture that suggest themselves as you think, as it were intuitively, are really suggested by the circumstances in which you are placed and by their real suitability to the case before you. In this way I think that the beautiful truth that came to your mind in connection with dear Rachel was really suggested by the impression which Rachel's life, walk, and conversation had given to you with regard to her real character. And such impressions are frequently more to be depended on than any (the most logical) argument that could be stated in words. Hoping, dear mother, that we shall both be spared to talk long and pleasantly over these subjects, I conclude now with our united love to our dear father and yourself.—Your ever-loving son, KENNETH."

According to the rules of the Foreign Mission Committee in those days, a missionary was entitled to eighteen months' furlough after ten years' service in India. But after he had been a year in Scotland Mr Macdonald was eager to return to Calcutta. The children had to be left at home, and it was decided that Mrs Macdonald should remain at home with them for some time longer after her husband's departure.

CHAPTER IX

SECOND TERM OF SERVICE

"With mercy and with judgment
My web of time He wove,
And aye the dews of sorrow
Were lustred by His love."

—Mrs Cousin.

The second voyage to India began disastrously. The *City of Poona*, in which Mr Macdonald sailed from Liverpool at the end of January 1873, encountered a gale in the Irish Sea, almost immediately after leaving the Mersey. Of the six boats the steamer carried, four were lost—one carried away bodily, divots and all; another carried off the divots; the other two stove in and smashed to atoms. Twenty tons of coal, stacked on deck, were all washed away, and all the live stock on board—hens, ducks, geese, sheep, and pigs—were drowned or killed in some other way. The officers' quarters and other offices were completely gutted, and many of their contents carried away. The waves smashed the skylights and poured into the saloon, and as the cargo had shifted and the vessel taken a list to one side, in all the cabins on that side, Mr Macdonald's among them, the water was knee-deep, and a good deal of the luggage submerged. For the two days that the steamer was on her beam-ends the passengers were fed in their cabins on dry biscuit. The captain had a narrow escape. He was carried off his feet by a heavy sea, but jammed against a fallen spar, which, although it bruised him badly, probably saved him from being washed overboard. Soon after the gale began they found themselves off Milford Haven, and the captain tried to make this port. A blinding snowstorm coming on made this almost impossible, and they were carried as far as the Scilly Isles. The gale abating somewhat, they made their way back to Milford Haven. There the crew deserted the ship, declaring that she was unseaworthy, and eleven long days were spent in putting the ship to rights, re-arranging the

cargo, and getting a new crew. Of the six passengers, two refused to proceed farther. It so happened that the steamer in which they followed came into collision with and sank another vessel before she was clear of the Mersey. The four others stuck to the *City of Poona* in spite of much discomfort, for the snow lay thick upon her decks, and the steampipes by which the cabins were warmed had been broken in the storm. At last they sailed again under bare poles, and dragging iron chains astern to steady the vessel. For the rest the voyage was uneventful, except that one of the passengers died of consumption as they were rounding Ceylon. It was feared that the exposure they had suffered from at Milford Haven hastened his death.

Towards the end of 1873 Mr Macdonald gave fresh proof of his versatility by taking charge of Wellesley Square Free Church during a temporary vacancy of about eighteen months. This congregation of Europeans had been formed in consequence of the Disruption in 1843. The Scottish mercantile community in Calcutta has always contained a number of public-spirited, liberal, and wealthy men, who have most willingly helped the cause of Christ in their midst. Through their aid a handsome church was built at the corner of Wellesley Street and Wellesley Square, and opened for worship on August 13th, 1848. From the outset the connection between the mission and the European congregation has been of the most intimate and cordial description. The missionaries very often assist the minister in his pulpit and pastoral duties, and share the responsibilities of the Kirk-Session and Deacons' Court; and the congregation contributes very generously to the support of the mission work. At one time it made itself responsible financially for the work in the rural districts of Lower Bengal. It also takes a maternal interest in a Tamil congregation, consisting largely of Madrasi Christians employed in Calcutta as domestic servants, which meets for worship within its compound. The Rev. John Macdonald was the first pastor, but he did not live to see the opening of the church. He was succeeded by the Rev. John Mackail, who was followed by the Rev. John Milne. After Mr Milne came the Rev. John Pourie, who died in 1867 and was succeeded by the Rev. John D. Don. In 1873 Mr Don went home on furlough, and in the following year resigned on account of his wife's ill-health. The new minister, the Rev. William Milne, from Auchterarder, did not arrive till February 1875. In 1873 there were

fears of a famine in Bengal, and it was anticipated that the rise in the price of food would add considerably to the cost of carrying on the schools and other mission agencies in the country districts. In these circumstances an arrangement was made that was for the benefit of both the European congregation and the mission. Mr Macdonald was to take the pastorate, and his salary as a missionary was to be used to meet this deficiency in the mission funds.

At the end of November in the same year Mr Macdonald attended a conference on Presbyterian Confederation in Allahabad. This movement had been initiated by a pamphlet by Mr Maclagan, an elder of the Church of Scotland and for some time Secretary of its Foreign Mission Committee, which had appeared ten years earlier. The idea had been taken up with enthusiasm by the American Presbyterian Synod of North India, and chiefly by one of its best-known missionaries, the Rev. Dr J. H. Morrison. Several conferences had been held to discuss the subject, including one that met immediately after the first Decennial Missionary Conference at Allahabad in 1872. On that occasion forty-one ministers or elders, representing eight sections of the Presbyterian Church, were present. At first the hope was entertained that it might be possible to effect an incorporating union of all the Presbyterian Churches in India. They were one in doctrine and in polity, and the causes which unfortunately still kept their home Churches apart were not such as to demand, or to justify, their continued separation in India. But it soon became evident that a comprehensive union, however desirable it might be, was impracticable, and it was resolved that in the meantime all that should be aimed at should be the institution of periodical conferences of all Presbyterians in India, for the purposes of consultation and co-operation in all that pertained to the extension of Christ's kingdom, and always with a view to an ultimate union into one Presbyterian Church. The gathering in Allahabad towards the end of 1873 was the first formal meeting of this body, which came to be known as the Presbyterian Alliance. Mr Macdonald was present as the representative of the Free Church Presbytery of Calcutta, and throughout the rest of his life he was a devoted friend of the movement, working unweariedly by speech and pen for the union of the Churches.

The pastorate of a European congregation brought many new experiences. One matter in which Mr Macdonald was led to take a deep interest, on account of a peculiarly pathetic case in his own

congregation, was leprosy. To this sufferer he was not only the means of bringing spiritual comfort, but with the patient persistence that he brought to any subject that interested him or demanded his attention, he corresponded with doctors and others, all over India and Burmah, with a view to finding a cure for leprosy. Glowing accounts reached him from time to time of wonderful cures, now from a native doctor in Bombay, and again from the superintendent of the convict settlements in the Andaman Islands; but closer investigation always proved that the high hopes that had been raised by these reports were groundless. He visited many lepers in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, to see for himself or to learn from their own lips the effect of the treatment they were undergoing. One thing that surprised him was to find how many Europeans were suffering from leprosy, and how anxious they were to conceal the fact. A fellow-countryman of his own, in an advanced stage of the disease, agreed to see him only on the condition that he did not make his case known to others. He found him living in the slums of Calcutta, in a small room in which the only article of furniture was a native stringcot. He never left this room till after ten o'clock at night, when the streets were dark and empty, and no one could recognise him. Then he took a walk down to the river and back again. Another fact that his inquiries elicited was that the editor of a leading English newspaper, an able and learned man, and a personal friend of Mr Macdonald, was a leper. Not long afterwards he left Calcutta and disappeared. Although, on his return to missionary work at the other end of the city, he lost sight of these cases, he never ceased to take an interest in the efforts made for promoting the temporal and spiritual welfare of the lepers of India, and the work of Mr Wellesley C. Bailey's Society had his earnest sympathy. In later years he became a member of a Committee for raising funds to commemorate the visit of H.R.H. Prince Albert Victor to Calcutta, by erecting the Albert Victor Leper Asylum. There was some controversy on that occasion about the best way of spending the money which had been raised by public subscription. The Committee wished to spend the entire sum on decorations, fireworks, and other entertainments. A small minority, of which Mr Macdonald was one, advocated a memorial of a more permanent and useful kind as well. The discovery that the Committee's official programme included a *nautch*, which the Bishop of Calcutta and the missionaries naturally refused to attend, helped to gain

public sympathy for the minority, and their scheme was carried through.

It was also during his pastorate that Mr Macdonald's long official connection with the Calcutta Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society began, by his appointment as Honorary Secretary. The Society has amply recognised how much it owes to his prolonged and faithful services, for many years as its Secretary and afterwards as Vice-President. It was largely due to his efforts, coupled with those of another well-known missionary, the Rev. W. J. Wilkins of the London Mission, that sufficient funds were procured to purchase the freehold of a splendid site in Chowringhee, overlooking the *Maidan*, and to erect there the present Bible and Tract House. In this transaction he showed foresight as well as energy, for the site has now increased at least sevenfold in value, and is year by year becoming more central. He took much pride in the Society, and well he might, for it had been the pioneer of Bible Society work in India—after Carey, of course, who seems to have inaugurated everything that we can boast of in the shape of Christian effort. Very soon after the institution of the Bible Society in London in 1804, it began to co-operate with the Serampore missionaries, in the production of oriental versions of the Scriptures; but it was a sermon preached in Calcutta by Henry Martyn on New Year's Day, 1811, that led definitely to the formation of the Calcutta Auxiliary. The great work since accomplished, both in the translation and the circulation of the Word of God, Mr Macdonald loved to chronicle.

A much smaller but most interesting enterprise, of which Mr Macdonald was Secretary till his death, and which appealed in a special degree to his sympathies, was the Gopalganj Mission, founded in 1874. Mathura Nath Bose, B.A., has already been mentioned as one of Mr Macdonald's earliest pupils. He was now a professor in another mission college with a salary of £20 a month, and was also practising as a pleader in the High Court. He decided to give all this up for missionary work in Eastern Bengal, among a poor and despised people who lived among its swamps, known as the Chandals or Nama Sudras. There is a tradition that they were once a compact Hindu community in Dacca, whence they were driven out by the curse of some Brahmins whom they had offended. They sought refuge in the Faridpur district, where they had to build mounds of earth in order

to get dry spots on which to erect their houses. Here they live an amphibious life, in dense ignorance and poverty. This mission was to be an indigenous one, independent of foreign control, but the advice and counsel of European missionaries were welcomed, nor were European contributions refused. It should be stated, however, that when Mr Bose decided to "go down the pit" to evangelise his neglected fellow-countrymen, it was a Bengali Christian friend, Mr S. C. Mookerjea, a convert of Dr Duff's day, who had become a prosperous Calcutta merchant, who volunteered to "hold the rope" by guaranteeing to pay him a salary of £4 a month. This Mr Mookerjea continued to pay with unfailing regularity for fifteen years. Mr Bose once told the writer that what had made it easier for him to give up his lucrative posts in Calcutta for missionary work in an out-of-the-way and unhealthy district, was the fact that he was then childless, but that God signified His approval of the step he had taken by sending him a large family. His children now carry on the work their father began.

Relieved of his congregational duties by the arrival of the Rev. William Milne, Mr Macdonald reverted to missionary work in February 1875. "32/6 Beadon Street" had been built in the interval, and it now became his permanent home. It was an address that became very familiar to missionaries throughout India.

A new effort for interesting the students and other English-speaking natives in Christianity was now made by means of Sunday evening services in the Institution. An address in English was given by one of the missionaries, prayer was offered, and passages of Scripture read. But the special feature of these services was the music. From the time of his arrival in Calcutta, Mr Macdonald had been endeavouring to make the musical part of the religious services more worthy of the worship of God. His own musical equipment was of the most meagre kind. At Glen Urquhart, in his father's house, they sang steadily through the Psalms at morning and evening worship, to the same tune, whatever the metre might be. What the name of that tune was, if it had a name, no one knew. Of course no hymns or even paraphrases were tolerated, although, as has been mentioned, the latter began to be used to a limited extent in school in Kenneth's day. He had never been taught to sing, and did not profess to be able to sing, yet he *taught* singing with good success while in charge of his

school at Maryburgh, and more than that, acted as precentor in the church. But Mrs Macdonald was an accomplished musician, and did much to carry into execution the reforms that he planned. When he arrived in Calcutta he found that nothing was sung in the Mission Church services except the Psalms in Bengali prose, and that they were sung to the old Scotch tunes! No metrical versions yet existed in Bengali, and hymns were tabooed. How it was done is a mystery, but the fact remains. Hymns were introduced, tentatively and cautiously at first, and then more boldly! At the Sunday evening services, however, the much bolder plan was adopted of singing Bengali hymns to high-class Hindu music. This was done under the direction of Mr S. C. Mookerjea, the merchant referred to above, who composed both the hymns and the music. Objection was raised to using in Christian worship music that was associated with Hindu idolatry, but to this the missionaries replied that if the music was a good thing itself, it would be well to *dis*sociate it from Hindu worship and consecrate it to the service of God. The attendance varied greatly, but at first, while the novelty lasted, it was sometimes 600, 800, or even 900. Among the notes of the addresses given by Mr Macdonald at these meetings in the session 1876-77, we find one on "the Life and Character of Dr William Robson," who had recently died in Scotland, after a long illness, leaving fragrant memories in Calcutta. A visitor who threw himself with great zeal into the evangelistic work during the year 1875 was the Rev. Dr A. N. Somerville. Among other visitors about the same period were Mr David Kennedy and his family, the singers of Scottish songs, who were then making a tour round the world. From a book written by one of the party, Mr David Kennedy, junior, and published under the title *Singing Round the World*, after his death, along with Reminiscences, by his sister, the following account of one of these Sunday evening services and of their promoters, from the musician's point of view, will bear quoting:—

"On the following Sunday evening we were invited by the Rev. Mr Macdonald to visit the Free Church Institution for Bengalis, founded by Dr Duff after the Disruption. We drove in a two-horse open carriage through streets crowded with traffic, the two syces or grooms often leaping off the back of the vehicle, and running ahead to clear the way with many cries, in Hindustani, of 'Out of the way, you jungly wallah,' 'Hi, there, you with the fruit basket,' 'Look out!

old woman,' 'Stop a bit, you palki-wallahs,' 'To the right, you pig of a bullock-driver.' Once we almost ran down a party carrying a sheeted corpse. On one hand church-bells were pealing, a large Hindu theatre, with its flood of light, was admitting its crowds, while an adjoining burning-ghat [or place for cremating Hindus], was sending its lurid smoke high into the air. Close by was the Institution, where a sermon was being preached in English by one of the missionaries. There were about 150 natives present, of whom a number were mere boys. None of them were Christians, but students and others casually attracted. The service opened with a Bengali hymn. There was a screen at one corner, behind which sat the choir, unseen by the congregation. As I afterwards found, it consisted of one of the lady teachers, three Christian native girls, a Christian Brahmin, Mr Mookerjea, who led the choir, and two native instrumentalists [also Christians], who sat cross-legged on cushions. It was with great effort we kept grave while the hymn was being performed. It was so irregular and wild, and the instruments—oh, the instruments! There was a big guitar that struck off four prolonged chords as an introduction. Then the verse commenced, a drum also accompanying. How the performer seemed to be wrestling with his instrument, coaxing it, stroking it, tickling it, producing sounds from it that I never heard from a drum before—groans, murmurs, knocks, rumbles—his fingers now and then rippling over the skin and ending with a resounding 'skelp!' Then his contortions, dimly seen through the screen. The ludicrous, like the beautiful, is intensified by a little mystery. This drum was a long-bodied affair, to which an octave is added or subtracted by the performer simply sticking on or taking off a lump of *dough* in the centre of the tympanum—a practical illustration of the 'movable Doh!' This was volubly explained to us at the end by Mr Mookerjea, who is a 'card,' speaks English fluently, chaffs the missionaries, and is a sharp, cheery fellow. He accompanied us to the Rev. Mr ——'s house, and joined us in several of Moody and Sankey's hymns, during which we were interrupted by a pack of jackals that swept howling down the street. Mr Mookerjea then showed the immense superiority of Bengali over European music, how the former had twenty-two sounds in its scale (quarter and one-third tones), while the latter had no lower subdivisions than semi-tones; how the Bengali scales were geometrically perfect, while ours were formed by temperament — with other

learned matter. He was a composer, too—oh yes, that had long been a hobby of his. Next day I called at Mookerjea's office, where he showed me some ancient Sanscrit music, and some antique instruments that 'surpassed the piano'; amongst others a large guitar, which he avowed was identical with the ten-stringed psaltery of King David."

As Mr Mookerjea is not to reappear in this narrative, it may be mentioned here that he died in 1899. As he was baptised in 1850 he almost completed fifty years of Christian service. For twenty years he was a member of the Santal Mission Council of the Free Church of Scotland, and for seventeen years his firm—Mookerjea, Clark & Co.—acted as its treasurers. The soul of honour, with a conscience kept clear as noonday in all affairs of business, he has been justly quoted as an example of all the manly and Christian virtues which Macaulay failed to find in the Bengali.[1] After his conversion he went to England, studied engineering, and returned to India to enter the Public Works Department of the Government. When the Mutiny broke out he was serving in the North-West Provinces, the scene of the most serious outbreaks. He shouldered the musket as a volunteer, and did sentry and other duty in Allahabad. He was one of those who were selected for the responsible task of acting as an escort to the European women and children when, for their greater safety, they were sent down to Calcutta. He did not return to the North-West.

The great sorrow of Mr Macdonald's life befell him in 1876, when his first wife died. A daughter was born on the 17th of July. Fever followed, and after several days of great suffering—days of storm outside—Mrs Macdonald passed peacefully away on the morning of the 21st. In an article written twenty-one years afterwards, her husband, referring incidentally to the scene, describes it thus:—

"We remember well how, on a dark, stormy morning, we watched by the bedside of a dearly loved one. The windows to the east were opened, and the rising sun, dispelling the darkness, shone in with much sweetness and brightness. The eyes began to open till they shone with all their wonted brightness and intelligence, or rather with very unusual, if not supernatural, angelic, or heavenly brightness, with a spirituality of look which reminded one of what

[1] Dr George Smith, in *Life of Dr Duff*, chap. xvi. The oft-quoted passage in Macaulay—one of the "Macaulay-flowers of iterature"—occurs in the account of Nuncomar in the essay on Warren Hastings.

is said of Stephen, that his face shone like an angel's; and then, as of her own voluntary act, she breathed her last and was with God."

She was laid to rest the same evening in a spot sacred to very many of our countrymen, the Scotch Burying Ground in Calcutta, sincerely mourned by all who had known her, and especially, outside the circle of immediate friends and relatives, by those who had been under her motherly care in the Orphanage. An hour or two after her death the home mail arrived, and among the letters was one from the eldest boy, wishing his mother many happy returns of her birthday. Of many pathetic letters written in the following days and weeks by the father to his motherless children in Scotland, the following, written in reply to this one, may be quoted:—

"32/6 Beadon St.,
Calcutta, 25*th July* 1876.

"My Dear Ian,—Your last letter was addressed to mama and came to hand on Friday morning last—a Friday morning never to be forgotten by you or me. It commenced by 'wishing many returns of the day,' her birthday on earth. It proved, as it were, a wish for many happy returns of the day on which she entered into glory; and of that day she shall have many, many, many happy, oh how happy returns! Eternity never ends, and to the just it is an eternity of never-ending, never-waning happiness. Upon that happiness your dear, good mama entered on Friday morning, shortly after sunrise, the 21st day of July 1876. And her last words on earth were addressed to her youngest child lying by her side. These same words I now address to you, her eldest, six thousand miles away: '*You have still a mother. Dear wee lammie, you have still a mother.*' Yes, she may be more than six thousand miles away, but you have her still; and you ought always to speak and think and act under the influence of that thought. Say to yourself still, 'I have still a mother,' and she is as an angel of God—with Jesus, like Jesus, pure and sinless as He is, but loving with a mother's pure love, pitying with a mother's pity, grieved at what is bad and impure, but rejoicing at everything which is good and true and beautiful. I know my own dear good Ian will still try as always, nay more than hitherto, to do what he knows will be, must be, pleasing to his sainted mama, and to Jesus, his Saviour."

He proceeds to remind him that to him, as the oldest, his brothers and sisters will naturally look for example and guidance,

and urges them all to do their utmost to make up to each other, as far as they can, what they lack in the absence of earthly parents. He also tells them all that, during her last illness, their mother's thoughts, when she was conscious, were much with them, and that she had expressed an earnest wish that they might all, throughout life, follow their parents' example in being total abstainers from intoxicating drink. "Remember this was your dear mama's last expressed wish and prayer about you. I have not the least doubt but she had many prayers and wishes about you during these many days of enforced silence. But on this point she insisted that she should speak."

The father was left alone with a little boy of eighteen months to care for, as well as the infant, and the four children at home to think of and plan for. It was a hard struggle. His hands were even more than usually full of work, but he rearranged his house, so that even while studying he might be as near the children as possible. Mr Martin Mowat had resigned in June, to enter Government service ; Mr Robertson left the Mission to be Principal of the Doveton ; and Mr Fyfe was in failing health. Mr Macdonald was anxious to hold on till his furlough was due, as he thought that by that time his children at home would have reached an age at which they would specially need his help and advice. So he did his best to attend properly to his two little charges and to his mission-work at the same time. The servants gave him much trouble. The baby's ayah had to be dismissed for misconduct, and on two occasions he caught his bearer red-handed in the act of stealing money. On the second of these the servant ran away to escape punishment, but had the impudence afterwards to sue his former master in court, not only for his wages for the month during which he ran away, but for another month in advance as well, and also for five rupees which, he said, he had spent on his master's behalf. When it was known that the case was to go into court, four pleaders, all old students, but still Hindus, came to Mr Macdonald separately to offer their services free for the defence. The servant had no case. The pleader asked him to particularise the items in his bill of five rupees for purchases. He at once began glibly to roll off a list of articles — bootlaces, matches, buttons, etc.—with quantities and prices, till the pleader told him he might stop as the total already came to six rupees, eight annas. The plea was dismissed. It became more and more evident,

however, that the friends who advised him to take the children home at once were right, and he applied for and obtained short leave for this purpose.

Arriving at home in April 1877 he made arrangements for his six children, of whom two were placed in a school at Walthamstow, two with their friends at Glen Urquhart, and two with their maternal grandmother at Kirkcudbright. He then went over to Ireland, chiefly to visit old friends of his late wife at Carlingford Bay, but also with the hope of finding mental distraction and stimulus in seeing new places of interest, and improving his knowledge of the Irish language and literature. He made his way by Belfast, the Giant's Causeway, Portrush, Glenluce Castle—an ancient seat of the Macdonalds—and Londonderry to Carlingford Bay, where he spent several days with his friends in recalling common memories. Thence he went to Dublin, where two or three days were devoted to ransacking all the booksellers' shops for works on Irish, with very little result. Thinking he might fare better farther south, he took train for Cork. He was surprised to find the floor of the railway carriage littered with torn leaves of a Gaelic translation of John Bunyan's *Holy War*, which had been used for packing. He was reading these when a number of young men came crowding into the compartment. From their talk he gathered that they were Maynooth students on their way home for their holidays. He drew their attention to the sheets, and reading a few words from them, asked them if they understood. Not a word. He told them that being Irish students they ought to know it, and taking out of his bag a volume of Tom Moore's poems in Irish, he asked them if they could read them. They could not, but one of them guessed from the old characters that it was Irish. They asked him if *he* could read it, and he said he could. He then read a few sentences and translated them into English. They were filled with astonishment and admiration. Opening his bag again, he took out an Irish translation of Homer's *Iliad*, and, pointing to the title-page, asked them if they knew "Ian o' Thuam"? "John of Tuam," they cried out in a body; him they all knew, by reputation at least. Again their admiration knew no bounds, and they could not sufficiently express their astonishment, voluble as they were, that a stranger from India should know so much of their ancestral tongue, of which they themselves were completely ignorant. Yet they were in training to be priests to a people, many of whom knew no

other language. When they came to a station where their roads parted, the enthusiastic Roman Catholics wished to carry the Protestant protagonist shoulder high to the refreshment room, and to treat him there as Irishmen ought to treat their friends. They insisted upon paying his bill, and bade him farewell with many protestations of friendship and goodwill. On a later occasion Mr Macdonald had an opportunity of telling the Belfast Council of the Presbyterian Alliance that to reach the Irish heart they should use the Irish tongue. It was with much satisfaction that he read still later, in a Report on Irish Missions for 1898, that these missions had at last employed a Gaelic-speaking Highlander from Scotland as an evangelist to the Irish.

A search for books in Cork proved as futile as that in Dublin had been. He failed to find in either place an Irish translation of either the Old or the New Testament by a Roman Catholic. He went on to the Lakes of Killarney, and his hopes that round their romantic shores he would meet with pure unadulterated Irish were not disappointed. There he found he could make his Gaelic understood, and, with some difficulty, could understand the Irish spoken in reply. There he heard Irish songs recited and sung, was freely offered the Irish *usquebeagh*, and was soaked to the skin with torrents of Irish rain. Killarney was a distinct success.

Crossing to Bristol he visited the tomb of Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, "the first and the greatest of Hindu reformers."[1] He then made his way back to Edinburgh, to attend the meetings of "the First General Council of the Presbyterians of the World." On the last day of the Council the members, at the invitation of Lord Polwarth, visited Melrose and Dryburgh Abbeys, and then assembled for lunch at Mertoun House, his Lordship's seat. The proceedings after lunch included a foreign mission meeting, which Mr Macdonald addressed. From Melrose he proceeded direct to London, thence to Paris, and then by way of the Mont Cenis tunnel to Turin, Florence, Rome and Naples, to Brindisi. He had been exactly three months in Scotland, and reached Calcutta in August. All his loved ones he had left behind in the old country, but he felt that the God of his fathers was with him, and the everlasting arms sustained him. So he writes to his brother Donald.

[1] There is indisputable evidence that Mr Macdonald visited this grave in 1884. It is not impossible, but it is improbable, that he made two visits. More probably he was mistaken in referring the visit to the year 1877.

A terrible famine was causing desolation in Madras during this year, and a great meeting of Calcutta students assembled in the Albert Hall, to take steps to help in the work of relief. "The Rev. K. S. Macdonald," said a native paper in reporting this meeting, "was voted to the chair as the inevitable penalty of his popularity among the metropolitan students and general public." He was also appointed Chairman of the Committee for collecting subscriptions, which was the practical result of this gathering. The sum of 2500 rupees [1] was contributed on the spot.

Letters.

The first of the following letters to his brother was written during the pastorate:—

"24 Hill's Lane,
"Calcutta, 13*th March* 1874.

"Last mail brought us your very welcome letters [from his brother and his sister-in-law], breaking the silence of months. You say that it was mutual. I believe it, for I have got very remiss in my correspondence, for I have the feeling ever present with me that much of the work which I ought to perform is lying undone. Two sermons a week, and preparations for an address at the weekly prayer-meeting I must do, and it is done, especially the former, to the best of my ability. But I know that I ought to visit much and try to influence for good those connected with my congregation, and more particularly the large number of young men far from friends and home influences, living in boarding-houses or chummeries, *i.e.* houses kept up by a number of young men living together and sharing in the general expenses of the establishment. Unless diligently looked after, they are very apt to fall back into irreligion or practical atheism, and immorality. There are many here thus lost to our churches and, alas, lost to everything good. I would like to try to do what I can for them, and as pastor of the Free Church congregation I feel it is my duty. Yet I feel that I am not specially qualified for the work thus thrown upon me. Besides these there are the families connected with the church scattered all over Calcutta, and out in the suburbs on every side, from the extreme north to the extreme south, across the water in Howrah, to the east in Entally and Ballyganj. . . .

[1] The value of the rupee, formerly two shillings, is now sixteenpence.

"We have been taken up very much with the accounts of the revival in Edinburgh, etc. [in connection with the visit of Messrs Moody and Sankey]. But all people here have not confidence in it. I was rather amused at the notice the Brahmo Somaj editor took of it. After describing it, he said it corresponded very much with their annual meetings, and he wondered that the Calcutta Christians did not get up such meetings. The excitement is common to both, and it is a religious excitement, *i.e.* the excitement is in connection with religion, but I suppose that is the whole amount of the correspondence. We are, however, having extraordinary open-air meetings in the great park of Calcutta, specially intended for educated natives. They are conducted in English, and about 300 attend, but two-thirds of these are Christians. They are held every evening at sunset, and ministers of all evangelical denominations here take part in them. I was there last night, and intend to go there to-night also. To-morrow I intend to deliver a lecture on the Life and Character of Christ to the Family Literary Club. I have not been at any of their meetings this year. Their last meeting was a very large one, and was addressed on Electricity by the leading Jesuit here. . . .

"This letter, so far written, was intended for last mail, and now it is mail day again and no further on. My lecture got off very well. I had a full house, and great support from my Chairman, the Hon. Mr Paul, the Advocate-General, and adverse criticism from only one babu, who is always ready with such. But the Chairman and myself very easily disposed of his remarks.

"We had a very interesting ordination of one of our converts, previously baptised by myself, Mathura Nath Bose. . . . He is an exceedingly interesting young man. His ordination was somewhat irregular, but that arose from the great confidence we all had in him and our unwillingness to delay his ordination for some years, as it would require to be delayed if all the usual forms were attended to. I need not refer to the famine. You see as much of it at home as we do here, for the scene of it is some 300 miles from Calcutta, and your papers give you all the latest news by telegrams."

"32/6 Beadon St.,
"Calcutta, 19*th July* 1875.

"The news of the departure of your dear little one saddened us much. The death of a dear one is at all times sad, but more

especially the first death in a family. But the blow is greatly tempered by meditation on the character, life and words of our loving Saviour, and more especially when these are looked at in connection with the little ones whom He was always ready to gather to His bosom and bless. Yes, our departed little ones, we are assured, are all safe in the arms of Jesus. It was very kind of you, in your sorrow, to remember us, and write us so fully and so interestingly, and also to send us as usual the Assembly papers. For one reason or another I have not been so much interested in the last Assembly as in the previous ones. The matters that I had expected to be taken up—more especially our Allahabad Conference —were completely neglected in our Assembly, tho' made a great deal of in the Established Assembly. . . . The Disestablishment Society here languishes. I have never gone heartily into it. Thus I did not take so much interest in the Disestablishment discussion in the Assembly. Besides, I was exceedingly interested at the time in two questions, ecclesiastical, that got up at the time here. The one was a most irregular ordination of a Presbyterian [native Christian] to a Presbyterian congregation by a body of Independents or Congregationalists, including Baptists [native Christians]. The thing was so outrageously offensive in the way it was gone into and carried on that I wrote very strongly on it to one of the papers here. I also brought the matter, on two different meetings, before the Calcutta Missionary Conference. On the last occasion it was made the subject of the day, when I read to the Conference a paper reviewing the Conference resolutions and action in relation to such cases from its beginning, 44 years ago, down to the present time. I searched its minutes for all that time on the subject, and somewhat astonished the Conference, and rather confounded my opponents. Before I got that matter settled I got involved in the Jesuit or ultramontane controversy that is raging over the world at present, but here in Calcutta with great spirit. . . . I shall be most happy to collect for your new church, and I hope to succeed to the extent of some five hundred rupees, or £50, but you need not count on me for more. . . . I was glad to learn that you expected to get Dr Rainy to help at your communion. I think it is a good thing to get the leaders to visit the Highlands oftener than they do. . . .

"S——'s babu has turned out the most consummate rascal I ever met. He intercepted a letter I wrote to a friend of his, informing

him that he was baptised, then wrote another letter on its model, saying that he was *not* baptised, but merely confessed, and having forged my signature to the lie, sent the letter on as mine. What villainy! and then a day or two after he wrote to me asking me to write to the same party and say nothing of the baptism, but that he had confessed his faith. And then he called on me with the greatest nonchalance as if he had done nothing wrong."

"32/6 Beadon St.,
Calcutta, *20th Oct.* 1876.

"I have no clear idea as to when I have last written to you. My correspondence, save with my children in Kirkcudbright, has gone altogether into confusion! Friends and relatives have been neglected—here in India and at home—but they have not neglected me. I have been almost shipwrecked, put on my beam-ends as we were in Milford Haven. For three months I have been lying almost a wreck, largely exposed to the billows. The tempest has subsided, the billows have ceased to roll, but the wreckers are still around me in the form of my own servants and others. My enjoyments in life are largely embittered, and I have little pleasure in work and still less in idleness. Whatever pleasure I have, it is in connection either with my own children, or in the society of the orphanage children, more especially in hearing the latter sing. I have not been able to form any fixed plans, or rather I am constantly changing from one plan to another, although I must say that I never till to-day looked on any plan on which I had entered as likely to possess any permanency. You know that at the time of dear Jeannie's departure, Mrs J., the wife of a tea-planter, was living with us. Her presence was a great blessing, and more than anything else external or temporal prevented me from sinking altogether under the storm. She continued in charge of the house and children for six or seven weeks, by which time I had arranged to go into town to live at Mrs P.'s, paying for my own and my children's board and lodging, exclusive of servants, £17, 10s. a month, but as her house was to be under repair all November and December, her family was to come out and live with me, including her daughter-in-law and grandson. [This plan did not suit well, and the other family left.] Then two days ago I caught my bearer stealing my money—the stolen money

in the one hand and my Chubb's key in the other; and the day before that I dismissed Donnie's ayah. So I resolved to shut up the upper part of the house, take the old woman who is in charge of baby downstairs to my study, and be my own housekeeper and head-nurse in the meantime. I am now writing with a good deal of my cargo, as it were, thrown overboard to lighten the ship, and I think I feel steadier than I have done for the last four months. I think it is likely both children will go home in March or April, and possibly I myself, but not at all likely. I was altogether opposed to going home, as I was requested to do, at first. I lately came round under the pressure of the difficulty and expense of providing here for myself and the children. Now I am getting back to the disinclination condition, as I am looking hopefully to my new plan. It all depends upon how the old woman gets on with the children."

"LONDON, 12*th July* 1877.

"I had the last of the [General Presbyterian] Council yesterday, an informal meeting, but a most happy, and I believe, a blessed one. I consider it no inauspicious or unimportant circumstance that I should leave Scotland again from such a meeting. I enjoyed the Council and this last meeting more than I can tell you. I leave for Paris to-morrow."

CHAPTER X

EVANGELIST

"If I were forbidden to enter heaven, but were permitted to select my state for eternity, I would choose to be as I sometimes feel in preaching the Gospel." —C. H. SPURGEON.

MR MACDONALD was married again on 12th January 1878 to Margaret Pringle, the eldest daughter of the Rev. John Manson, at first parish minister, and after 1843, Free Church minister of Fyvie, in Aberdeenshire. Miss Manson had come to Calcutta in 1876, to take charge of the Girls' Orphanage and Boarding School as a missionary of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society. For some years after her marriage, at the request of the Committee at home, she continued to superintend the work of this institution, which was under the same roof as their residence in Beadon Street. In the same year Mr Macdonald's mother died, and he suffered another loss by the death of his old and revered chief, Dr Duff.

While Mr Macdonald professed to be a Liberal both in politics and theology, he also professed to make it his principle to take as little as possible to do with political questions in his public life. He looked upon them as lying outside his proper sphere as a missionary. So he used to say; but the line which separated politics from religion and morality was often difficult to draw, especially in a land where the battle for religious freedom and for humane legislation and educational reform was still being fought against heavy odds. India, at the time to which we now refer, was under the Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton. The missionaries may not have been very enthusiastic about the Proclamation of the Empire, although a letter from Sir Stuart Hogg, the Commissioner of Police for Calcutta, to Mr Macdonald, asking his help in the promotion of public rejoicings on the occasion of the assumption of the Imperial title by the Queen, indicates that they at least acquiesced in the step. Whether or not the recipient of this letter did assist

the police in trying to induce the people to pretend that they took an interest in the business, does not appear. Most missionaries, no doubt, regarded the policy which led to the Afghan War as a matter which, however much they regretted, they could not prevent. But when an attempt was made to interfere with the liberty of the native press, Mr Macdonald for one was moved to throw himself without reserve into the conflict which followed. A Vernacular Press Act, which was dubbed "the Gagging Act," had been rushed through the Legislature at one sitting, practically without discussion or publication. It empowered a magistrate to seize and confiscate all the plant of any printing press, without any judicial investigation and without giving any opportunity for defence or appeal, provided only that he was of the opinion that anything published by that press was offensive from a political point of view, or likely to excite disaffection towards the British Government, or antipathy to any person of any race, caste, religion, or sect in British India. Mr Macdonald's objection to this Act was threefold. In the first place, it was partial and invidious, being directed solely against vernacular publications. Then the arbitrary powers it conferred upon the magistrate afforded unlimited opportunities for tyranny and oppression, without legal redress. Thirdly, it was an engine that might be used most effectively for the suppression of all controversial religious publications in the vernacular. Many of the productions of the Religious Book and Tract Society, for example, exposing the evils of Hinduism, idolatry, caste, infant marriage, etc., might very easily be regarded as coming within the scope of this law. However unlikely it might be that steps would ever be taken to suppress this Society, it was felt that it was highly unsatisfactory for it to continue its operations with this Act suspended, like the sword of Damocles, over its head.

A meeting of protest, held in the Town Hall, on 17th April 1878, was believed to be the largest gathering of its kind ever held in Calcutta. At least 5000 persons were present. The chair was taken by the Rev. Dr K. M. Banerjea, the first man baptised by Dr Duff, and a distinguished Sanskrit scholar. Mr Macdonald, the solitary European on the platform, moved the first resolution. He pointed out with effect that Milton's *Areopagitica*, in defence of "the liberty of unlicensed printing," was at that very time among the text-books prescribed by Government for the examinations in connection with Calcutta University. He maintained that the

condition it laid down—that every publication should bear the printer's name—was the only safeguard that was necessary in the interests of law and order. If any publication contained anything seditious, the Penal Code afforded sufficient means for its suppression. He appealed to history to prove that the attempt to stifle sedition by the suppression of the press invariably aggravated the evil it sought to cure. Other speakers pointed out that the extracts published by Government in justification of its action, thirty-six in number, were taken from only fifteen vernacular papers, out of thirty-five published in Bengal, and that many of these, quoted apart from the context, gave a wrong impression of their general import. It was not denied that much was published that merited punishment, but the guilty persons could easily be brought to justice under the existing law. One speaker said that the vernacular press must have become seditious very suddenly. Sir George Campbell, the late Lieutenant-Governor, had been the best abused man in Bengal in his day, but even he had testified, in his Administration Report for 1872-73, that the Bengali press was not really bad at heart. Mr Macdonald was one of the committee appointed by the meeting—again the only European in the list—to petition Parliament on the subject of the Act. Their petition produced no effect at the time, but soon after Mr Gladstone's Government came into power, in 1880, the Act was repealed. Mr Macdonald's action at this time was long and gratefully remembered by the native press throughout India.

Another action of Lord Lytton's against which Mr Macdonald protested, but with less success, was the repeal of the Lord's Day Act in India. This practically abolished the recognition of the Christian Day of Rest by the Government in its official capacity. His expostulation was renewed from time to time. When he was in Edinburgh on furlough in 1884 some remarks he made on the subject at the Annual Breakfast of the Sabbath Alliance, being reported in the newspapers, drew a letter to the *Scotsman* from Lord Lytton himself, in which he sought to justify his action. All his Government did, he said, was to repeal section 7 of Act 29 Car. II., known in England as the Lord's Day Act, as they felt that it was not suited to India. Mr Macdonald in reply pointed out that there was no such section in the Act as that to which his Lordship referred, and that it was not merely a section that had been repealed, but the whole Act. He admitted that it might be

advisable to modify the English Act to make it more applicable to India, but urged that it need not have been abolished, and that it was the duty of a Christian government to recognise the Lord's Day as from the legal point of view a *dies non*. He continued to direct public attention to this matter at intervals in the Calcutta newspapers. The Decennial Conference in Madras in 1902 resolved to petition Government to re-enact a Sabbath law for India.

In the year 1879 the progressive party in Calcutta asked Mr Macdonald to stand for the Municipal Council, guaranteeing his election to a safe seat if he would consent to be nominated. He felt much drawn towards this new sphere of service, chiefly for the sake of the opportunities it would afford him of promoting measures for the diminution of drunkenness and of open temptations to vice. He did not feel that this would be at all incompatible with his position as a missionary. In spite of his aversion to purely party politics, he would have approved of a remark by the late Dr R. W. Dale that "the will of God is never likely to be done on earth if Christian men do not consider how the law of Christ is to be illustrated in the legislation and policy of the State." He regretted, too, that in Calcutta so few men of Christian character and public spirit took an active interest in civic affairs. There were some distinguished exceptions to this rule, however, prominent among them being the Rev. Dr K. M. Banerjea. But he felt that his other engagements did not leave him sufficient time to discharge properly the duties of a municipal commissioner. He would rather leave a thing undone than not do it well; so declined the offer with regret. An application he had made some time before this, to the Municipality to have a street in Calcutta named "Duff Street," was this year complied with. The street in question runs parallel to the east side of Cornwallis Square, and one side of it is entirely occupied by mission buildings—the back of the General Assembly's Institution, the Zenana Home, and the Girls' Boarding School and Orphanage in connection with the United Free Church (the latter transferred from Beadon Street a few years ago). The proposal was opposed by one zealous Hindu, but eventually granted.

Another appointment of a different kind, which when it was first offered him he declined, but which on renewed and earnest request he agreed to accept, was the Editorship of the *Indian Evangelical Review*. The Rev. W. Park, of the American Board of Missions, Bombay, who had been the editor up to this time, was leaving India.

He pressed Mr Macdonald to undertake the task in succession to himself. It was from no lack of interest in the *Review* that he at first declined, but from lack of time. When he was prevailed upon to reconsider his decision, he threw himself with great heartiness into his editorial duties, and carried on the journal with much success for twenty years.

In a letter to the Rev. Dr Murray Mitchell, during this year, Mr Macdonald records with much satisfaction the steady progress that was being made in female education. In addition to the direct benefit it brought to the girls themselves, it also had the result of raising the men's very low opinion of the intellectual capacity of women, and consequently of increasing their respect for womankind in general. The progressive Brahmos and a few Europeans who sympathised with their views, had a rival scheme for promoting female education on purely secular lines. This proved less popular than they had anticipated. The average Hindu had no faith in female education, and least of all in a female education from which religion was excluded. Mr Macdonald took a very keen personal interest in this work from the fact that the first Bengali woman to graduate at the University was one of Mrs Macdonald's pupils in the Free Church Normal School.

It was in the same year, 1879, that a curious incident occurred, which is transcribed here practically in the words in which Mr Macdonald described it in a letter written at the time. One day a young Brahmin called at his house to say that he, Mr Macdonald, was his father, and that he had come to him to be cured of fever. The youth was quite sane, and in earnest. He had been suffering from fever for three years, and having failed to get any relief from the many doctors he had consulted and the many drugs they had prescribed, he had made a pilgrimage to the famous Hindu shrine at Tarkeshar. He got no benefit there, except that he was told that it would be revealed to him in a dream how he was to be cured. Having returned home he was told in a dream during the following night that he was to go to *Macdonald Sahib*, who had been his father in a previous birth, and who would give him food, the eating of which would cure him. He had never heard of Macdonald Sahib, but made inquiries, and found his way to Beadon Street. Mr Macdonald gave him some bread, which he ate eagerly. He went away, and came back in a few days to say that he had had no fever since eating the bread, and now felt perfectly well. Mr Mac-

donald saw him at frequent intervals, and found that so far as one could judge, not only from the youth's statements but from his appearance as well, his recovery was complete. He had been greatly emaciated by his long illness, but now steadily put on flesh till he regained his former weight.

One good thing which Lord Lytton did before he left India in 1880 was to make Mr Macdonald a Fellow of Calcutta University. The pleasure this gave him was not diminished by the fact that the list of new Fellows for the year contained the name of another Invernessian, G. R. Aberigh Mackay, a professor in one of the Government colleges, and a man of extraordinary cleverness, whose brilliant career was cut short by an early death. The missionaries were sorry that Mr Gladstone appointed a Roman Catholic to the Viceroyalty of India, but it was Mr Macdonald's opinion at least that a good Roman Catholic like Lord Ripon was better than a Protestant of the Lord Lytton type.

On the 13th July 1880 a very successful meeting was held in the Free Church Institution to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of Dr Duff's educational work in Calcutta. The Rev. Dr K. M. Banerjea presided, and the principal speech, a careful review of the academic history of the Institution, was delivered by Mr Macdonald. Other speakers included the Rev. John Hector, the Rev. Lal Behari Day, and Professor Mohesh Chunder Banerjea of the Presidency College. The last named was the sole survivor of the five boys who had assembled, in response to Dr Duff's invitation, in a hired house in Chitpore Road, fifty years before. Mr Day recalled the day when he came to Dr Duff's school, a very small boy from the paddy fields of Burdwan, with the bead-roll of the seeds of the sacred *tulsi* plant round his neck, and the marks of idolatry and superstition painted in yellow ochre on his forehead, his nose and the tips of his ears. Mr Macdonald had concluded his speech by saying that the Institution had had its ups and its downs, and their Jubilee had overtaken them not on the top of a wave, but rather in the hollow; but they hoped soon to get out of the hollow again and on to the billow. The reference was to the attendance, which had been somewhat less than in former years. Mr Fyfe, the Principal, was in Scotland, and Mr Macdonald was officiating in his place. His colleagues were the Rev. James Robertson, who had rejoined the Mission in 1879, the Rev. John Hector, and the Rev. R. N. Macdonald, who had come from Madras in 1878.

This meeting was the occasion of a sharp little controversy in the Calcutta newspapers. The Rev. William Hastie, Principal of the General Assembly's Institution, protested strongly against the Free Church missionaries celebrating in 1880 the "Jubilee" of an Institution which *he* said only dated from 1843. The Free Church missionaries' reply was that the Free Church Institution claimed historic continuity with the Institution founded by Dr Duff in 1830. In 1843 the Institution had simply migrated to a new building.

The retiral of the Rev. W. C. Fyfe, the last of the pre-Disruption missionaries to quit the field, now raised discussions about future arrangements, from which the personal element was not altogether absent. Like his clansmen at Culloden, Mr Macdonald considered that his past services, in point of length at least, entitled him to the first place—in this case the principalship of the Institution. But unlike them, instead of withdrawing from the battle when his claims were set aside, he sought a place in the field where he could use his weapons to greatest advantage against the foe, with least risk of coming into collision with his friends. The Rev. J. Robertson, a born educationist, was appointed Principal. Mr Macdonald brings a long letter on the subject, in which he very frankly states his grievances, to a close with the words: "May God in His love and mercy use all providences and dispensations to His own glory, the good of His Church and our entire sanctification."

The year 1881 marks a new epoch in the work of Mr Macdonald, and divides his missionary life into two distinct periods. From that date he ceased to be one of the regular staff of the College, and devoted his whole time and strength to the evangelisation of the educated English-speaking community. The necessity for a departure of this kind had been becoming more and more urgent, as English education spread and the number of those whose belief in Hinduism it had undermined, and whom it had left with practically no religious faith, was rapidly increasing. In the earlier days, when the stream of higher education was comparatively narrow, the missionaries were able to a larger extent to control its current, and direct it into Christian channels. A comparatively large proportion of the educated youth passed through the mission colleges, or were taught elsewhere by teachers who had themselves been students in these institutions. But now the stream had widened into a great river, and as missionary enterprise in this

direction had not extended to a corresponding degree, the mission colleges contributed but a small tributary to it.

Throughout India there were now a hundred colleges and five hundred high schools, connected with the four universities, engaged in teaching English to about two million students or pupils. In Calcutta alone there were, in addition to the five Christian colleges (Established Church, Free Church, Church of England, London Mission and Jesuit), two Government colleges and three native colleges, and Medical, Law and Civil Engineering colleges as well. The native colleges were entirely the property of Indians, and all the members of their staff were Indians. The number of English-speaking students and ex-students in the city and suburbs was estimated to be about thirty thousand. "As a class," Mr Macdonald once wrote of them, "they are at least as clever, intelligent and intellectual, and as well educated as the average Englishman or even Scotsman." With much ability they ran two daily and half-a-dozen weekly papers in Calcutta alone. Yet it seemed to him that the attention given to them by the missions was not in proportion even to their numbers, much less to their position and influence as the natural leaders of their fellow-countrymen. The Baptists had definitely retired from the work of higher education, which their great leader, Carey, had done so much to inaugurate. The Church Missionary Society were closing their Cathedral College. This step they afterwards regretted, and the College was re-opened some years ago. The London Mission College had discontinued their B.A. and M.A. classes. The educational missionaries still had an unique opportunity for bringing Christian truth to bear upon the hearts and minds of their students within their classrooms; but the exacting nature of their work, which had now to conform to University regulations and reach a definite academic standard, made it increasingly difficult for them to keep in touch with their students after the latter had left college, while among the many thousands of students, past and present, of non-Christian colleges, almost nothing was being done.

Dr Duff, in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committees in 1853, had described the system of giving a high English education without religion as "a blind, suicidal policy," while declaring that nothing would help more to retain our dominion in India than to bestow that education "in close and inseparable alliance with the illumining, quickening, beautifying influences of the Christian

faith." The Government of India itself has repeatedly recognised the evils inseparable from the purely secular system of education to which it feels itself bound to adhere on the principle of religious neutrality, nor have any of its schemes for moral instruction without a religious basis been conspicuously successful. Mr Macdonald thus felt, and his colleagues agreed with him, that there was an urgent call for work among the great numbers of young men, outside the mission colleges, who were eagerly imbibing Western knowledge without what Dr Duff called "the great improving, regulating, controlling and conservative power of Christianity." If the political evils of secularism in education threatened to be disastrous, the moral dangers were even more deplorable.

In taking this step Mr Macdonald hoped at the same time to do good to the native church, by leading its members to take a more real interest and a more active share in the evangelisation of their fellow-citizens. In this he was not disappointed. For many years the most efficient help he received was from native Christians, many of them men who held good positions in Government service or in business, and who rallied round him as voluntary workers. Some of them were well qualified to use their pens as well as their powers of speech in the cause of Christ, and others who could neither speak nor write served in the ministry of song. Mr Macdonald, although now working independently of the College, desired to keep as much as ever in close contact with his educational fellow-missionaries, and "to make this evangelistic work an integral and harmonious part of our educational system." The arrangement was sanctioned by the Committee at home, not enthusiastically, but on the clear understanding "that the arrangement is temporary, that it leads to no new outlay, and that Mr K. S. Macdonald's services are available for the Institution in an emergency." This was not very encouraging; it meant for one thing that the missionary must find any funds necessary for printing and other expenses, as best he could.

The agency that became the centre and mainspring of this evangelistic work was the open-air preaching in Beadon Square. This deserves a chapter to itself, after what remains of the history of this period of service has been sketched as briefly as possible.

Among the papers under date 1881 are two letters which constitute an interesting exchange of courtesies, and indicate how far Mr Macdonald had already succeeded in gaining the respect and

goodwill of the class he sought to win to Christ. Babu Protap Chunder Rai writes in the name of "the liberal, religious, patriotic and pious of our community," to tell him of a scheme they have taken in hand for translating into Bengali the Puranas, with a view to revive and propagate the Hindu religion. The *Mahabharat*, the largest and most comprehensive of the Puranas, an epic poem describing the wars of the Kurus and Pandus, the two collateral branches of the house of Bharata, had just been completed as the result of five years' work, and about seven thousand copies had been already distributed throughout Bengal. He goes on to say:—

"As you are a seeker and lover of truth, and as you have devoted your head and heart to the welfare of our countrymen, it would certainly be ingratitude on our part if we did not, with love and reverence, proceed with and lay before your presence, as a present, a copy of this valuable book. Truth is truth all-where and every-where. Though you profess a different religion, and are a sincere believer and a worthy and zealous preacher in that religion, yet I hope you will accept it, with your usual love and regard for truth, and will kindly take the trouble of going through and giving a share of your judgment to the tenets inculcated therein. If you find any truth in it, I hope you will be the first person to publish and propagate it in order to revive and rekindle the Aryan fire."

The reply to this is as follows:—

"Dear Sir,—Accept of my very cordial thanks for the very valuable present you and those who are associated with you have been pleased to make to me, and for the very kind words you have used in your letter in regard to me and my work. Believing with you that truth is not confined to any particular book, and knowing as I already do that there are many beautiful truths in the *Mahabharat*, I shall now have special pleasure in illustrating my preaching of Him whom I believe to be the Truth, by reference to such truths, as you will see I have been in the habit of doing in regard to the *Rig-veda*, from the copy of my little work on the *Vedic Religion*, which I do myself the honour of sending to you."

Mr Macdonald's work as an evangelist brought him into intimate connection with a great variety of Christian effort. The Oxford Mission was the only other at that time in Calcutta that appealed specially to the educated classes through other means than mission

colleges. It consisted of a brotherhood of half a dozen or more Oxford graduates, many of them men of great ability and academic distinction. It was founded in 1880, and sought to influence English-speaking young men by lectures, reading-rooms, tracts and papers, occasional open-air preaching, but above all by personal intercourse and religious conversation. Mr Macdonald admired the zeal and devotion of the Oxford men, and they returned the feeling; but when he found that their efforts were not confined to winning Hindus to Christianity, but were also directed towards the propagation of ritualistic teaching among the native Christians of other denominations, he protested vigorously. In a controversy which followed, very useful service was done by Mr K. C. Banerjea's speeches and by the articles of Mr J. G. Shome in his *Indian Christian Herald.*

When the Salvation Army began work in Calcutta about this time their meetings became the scene of disgraceful rowdyism. The Salvation Army "lasses" appealed to Mr Macdonald to help them. Much as he may have disliked some of their methods, his chivalry could not but respond to their request. He went with them to their next meeting, and when a Mohammedan began the usual interruption by shouting out some foul abuse, he collared him with his own hands, gave him into custody, and appeared against him in the police court next day, when he had the satisfaction of seeing him fined ten rupees. He also took part in a public meeting promoted by non-Christians in the Town Hall, to protest against the unfair treatment the Salvation Army were said to be receiving in Bombay at that time at the hands of the police and the Government.

From December 28th, 1882, till January 3rd, 1883, the Second Decennial Conference assembled in Calcutta. Mr Macdonald was at that time Secretary of the Calcutta Missionary Conference, and in that capacity he had the lion's share in the work of preparation. Of the Decennial Conference itself he was Treasurer. An enormous amount of work had to be done in making arrangements for the entertainment of some four hundred guests—twenty of whom he accommodated at his own house—in securing travelling concessions from the railway and steamship companies and in raising the necessary funds. But it was all done very willingly, everybody, or *nearly* everybody, gladly co-operated, and the conference, with a membership of 475, was from first to last an unqualified success. The

Chairman was Sir Henry Ramsay, "the King of Kumaon," who declared that he regarded his selection for that post as the highest honour of his life. The Bishop of Calcutta had been invited to become a member of the Conference, and to preside at one of the missionary meetings, but declined. In a courteous letter to Mr Macdonald, he explained that on receiving the invitation he had been greatly tempted to sacrifice his principles to his feelings, but had been "unable to avoid the conclusion that important principles are involved which my conscience will not allow me to compromise." What the principles were that were so opposed to Christian feeling, and which would have been compromised by attending a missionary conference and presiding at a missionary meeting, remains a mystery. The Introduction to the Report of this Conference is from Mr Macdonald's pen.

Among other events of 1882 were the death of Mr John Macdonald, Kenneth's father, at the ripe old age of 83, and the visit of the Rev. Joseph Cook of Boston, whose lectures attracted a good deal of attention.

The year 1883 is memorable in India on account of the bitter controversy over the Ilbert Bill. It arose through a well-meant effort on the part of the Government "to remove from the criminal code, at once and completely, every judicial disqualification which is based merely on race distinctions." Until 1872 the European British subject in India, by which is meant a person born, naturalised or domiciled in Britain or a British colony, or a child or grandchild of such person by legitimate descent, could only be tried by one of the High Courts. The law was amended in 1872, making him liable to trial, except in very serious cases, by magistrates of the highest class, who were also justices of the peace, and by judges of session courts, with the proviso that in each case the magistrate or judge must himself be a European British subject. The Government felt that this was an unsatisfactory state of affairs. Some of the native members of the Covenanted Civil Service had now reached a stage when in the ordinary course of promotion they would become district magistrates or session judges. Yet simply on account of their race they would be disqualified from performing all the duties of their appointments, and would have no jurisdiction over some of those who lived in their districts. Hence the proposed change in the law. It aroused a fury of opposition on the part of the Europeans throughout India, equal in intensity to that of the

agitation over the "Black Act" fifty years before, with which the reader of Macaulay's Life is familiar. Then the proposal had been to withdraw from the British subject his so-called privilege of bringing civil appeals before the Supreme Court at Calcutta, and Macaulay maintained that the opposition to it originated in the few persons in Calcutta who practised or wished to practise in the High Court. In 1883 the European community throughout India was convulsed. Government might very well have quoted Macaulay's plea that to make a distinction between the European and the native in the eye of the law was to suggest that the latter might put up with a little less than justice or that the former had a title to something more than justice; that two kinds of justice were dispensed by the courts; a coarse one, good enough for Indians, and another of superior quality, which the Europeans kept for themselves. But the outcry was too much for the Government of Lord Ripon, which virtually abandoned its position, although at the same time it carried through an Act by means of which it professed to accomplish its object. The method adopted, however, was to solve the problem rather by levelling down the European than by levelling up the Indian magistrate. Native district magistrates and session judges were to be invested with the same powers as Europeans holding the same offices; but a European brought before a district magistrate or a sessions judge was to have the right to claim trial by a jury of which not less than half should be Europeans or Americans. Mr Macdonald and some of his fellow-missionaries were among the few Europeans in India who took the Government's part in this agitation. He regarded the opposition as a deplorable and altogether unnecessary exhibition of race feeling, in which both common sense and Christian charity seemed to be forgotten. He maintained that justice demanded that the native civilians, who had shown themselves in every way worthy of the confidence of the Government and of the public, should be invested with the same powers as Europeans of the same rank and qualifications. This was surely the logical sequence to the admission of Indians to the civil service on the same terms as Europeans.

The aftermath of this unfortunate controversy made itself felt in many ways, and for many days after the question was closed, it lent a bitterness to many incidents which in other circumstances would have been regarded as too trivial to notice. One of these was "the *Shalgram* case," as it was called, which need only be

mentioned here on account of the part Mr Macdonald took in it. The *Shalgram*, from the geological point of view, is an ammonite fossil, which is found in the bottom of the Gundak river, a tributary of the Ganges. In some way or other it has become invested by the Hindus, especially in Bengal, with the utmost sanctity, and is devoutly worshipped. A case came before Mr Justice Norris, in the High Court of Calcutta, in which the *Shalgram* was one of the objects in a family dispute over the division or possession of property. Mr Norris, who had recently arrived from England, ordered this particular *Shalgram* to be produced in court. This was, from the Hindu point of view, sacrilege of the grossest kind. Only a Brahmin who had just bathed in the Ganges and who was wearing clothes that had not in any way been defiled could even touch the *Shalgram*—and to have it produced in open court—!! Mr Surendra Nath Banerjea, the editor of the *Bengali* and the leader of the patriotic party in Bengal, protested so strongly that he was imprisoned for contempt of court. This brought Mr Macdonald into the fray. He admitted that the *Bengali* was in the wrong, but pleaded that the punishment was excessive when the greatness of the provocation was understood. The *Shalgram*, he explained, was one of the three things essential to daily worship in an orthodox Hindu house, the cow and the *tulsi*, or basil plant, being the other two. These were the real household gods, worshipped two or three times a day, while Ram, Krishna, Durga and Kali were only honoured on special occasions. And there was no doubt that in this case the *Shalgram* had been hopelessly defiled by the ordeal to which it had been subjected by a judge ignorant of the customs and prejudices of the people of Bengal. The correspondence that ensued was a curious mixture. Mr Macdonald had sought to enlighten the public ignorance regarding the nature of the *Shalgram*. It was referred to by Scott in *Marmion*:—

> "They told, how in their convent cell,
> A Saxon princess once did dwell,
> The lovely Edelfled;
> And how, of thousand snakes, each one
> Was changed into a coil of stone,
> When holy Hilda prayed."
>
> Canto ii. 13.

One Hindu wrote to the papers to say that they did not like to see their god described in the papers as "the fossil remains of a shell-

fish, however true it may be scientifically." Another Hindu found fault with Mr Macdonald for having described his people as idolaters. "Both Hindus and Christians," he said, "worship the ideal of the Deity, which in the one instance is represented by a *Shalgram* stone, and in the other by Jesus of Nazareth." Another turn was given to the discussion by a correspondent who pointed out that the language being used every day by some of the English newspapers about the Viceroy (Lord Ripon) was much worse than anything the *Bengali* had said about Mr Justice Norris. Then a touch of ridicule was added to the whole business by a letter which asserted that the *Shalgram* had never appeared in court at all. Another god, Gopal by name, quite a second-class deity of no position, had been substituted for it, and as Gopal had remained covered by a night-cap during his sojourn in court, nobody had been the wiser.

In spite of all these disturbing elements, the work progressed, with many gratifying signs of God's blessing. Several converts were baptised in 1883 as the fruit of the work in Beadon Square. The annual conference of the Bengali Christians, held at the time of the *Durga Puja*, the most popular Hindu festival in Bengal, falling due as a rule in September or October, was that year of even greater interest than usual. Days were spent, as in former years, in the discussion of questions bearing on the religious, moral and social welfare of the Bengali Christian community. On the last day a love feast was held in the hall of the Free Church Institution, and then a procession, with music, flags, and singing, promenaded the principal streets. This was all in accordance with the customary routine. But this year's meetings were remarkable from the fact that for the first time Bengali women took a public part in them. Mrs Ghose, and Miss C. M. Bose, B.A., both teachers in the Free Church Mission Girls' School, read papers on women's work. The meeting at which these papers were read, attended by upwards of a thousand persons, was the largest ever held in connection with the Conference. No doubt this was due to the novelty of hearing Bengali women speak in public. In addition to the two who have been named, four other Bengali women took part in the discussion.

The Calcutta Exhibition was an important event in the cold season of 1883-4. Mr Macdonald took an active and even laborious interest in it in connection with the stalls erected by the Bible

and Tract Societies. All their publications were displayed and sold, and Mr Macdonald, as secretary, was most assiduous in his supervision of this work. Among the most interested visitors to the Exhibition was Professor (afterwards Sir) Monier Williams, Boden Professor of Sanskrit in Oxford, who was then visiting India. At a subsequent Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society in London, he gave his impressions of the Exhibition in the following words :—

"At the Calcutta Exhibition, which I constantly visited at the beginning of last year, the most interesting sight I saw was the stall of this Society, where Bibles in one hundred and sixty languages were exhibited. The natives of India and of all nationalities, Burmese, Siamese, Chinese, Japanese, and countless uncultured tribes from the hills, in picturesque costumes, thronged the passages round this marvellous stall, and Scriptures in their own languages were freely distributed among them. What must be the feeling of the proud Hindu and Mohammedan in beholding the strange sight? How vast the difference of their own ideas in regard to their own sacred books! To translate the Veda or the Koran into other languages they consider simply desecration. It is the sound or intonation of the sacred Sanskrit and of the sacred Arabic which is of primary importance and primary efficacy, the sense is merely secondary. Millions and millions who know nothing of Sanskrit are obliged to hear and repeat the Veda in Sanskrit."

Mr Macdonald was not able to remain in Calcutta till the close of the Exhibition, as he sailed for home on furlough in the spring of 1884.

Two documents relating to the period reviewed in this chapter are inserted here, for the light they throw on the work of the Christian evangelist in Bengal. The first was found among Dr Macdonald's papers, without any note of explanation. It would be difficult to say under what category we should classify the soil represented by the mind of the writer, unless we substitute Brahminical pride for the cares of the world as an interpretation of the thorns in the parable story. "Turkochuramoni," it may be explained, is a title of honour given to a graduate in Sanskrit lore. The document is attested by the signatures "K. S. Macdonald" and "Iadu Nath Ghose" :—

"32/6 Beadon Street,
"Calcutta, *28th June* 1880.

"I, J—— N—— B—— [a Bengali name signifying that the writer is a Kulin Brahmin], Turkochuramoni, believing in χριστος

and in the religion of sacrifice, desire to be baptised on the following conditions :—

"1. That the baptiser must not eat with those who are not Brahmin Christians;

"2. That I will not eat beef, and be allowed to wear the Asram dress, and the holy thread, and be not made to eat with the lower caste men; and

"3. That the baptiser must be a Brahmin of this country, or a European of the Free Church of Scotland, or a miracle worker; and

"4. That the document must be registered in a Government office."

The other statement is made in a very different spirit. It is the testimony of one of the converts whose baptism has just been referred to :—

"While I studied for the F. A. Examination in the General Assembly's Institution, Calcutta, I was a thorough-going Atheist. I had no fear of God in my heart, and I acted in such a way as if the pleasures of life were the be-all and end-all of existence. While in this state of mind, I happened one evening to attend the Beadon Square preaching where Dr Macdonald presided. Here I was surprised to hear that God had a Son; for though I studied in a Missionary College I had never cared for the Bible. I challenged Dr Macdonald to prove to me the existence of God. He asked me to go to his house the following day, which I did. After some talk with me he gave me a few tracts treating of the existence of God and of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, and asked me to write my criticisms on them. I read through them, but was not yet convinced of either of the truths. But Dr Macdonald did not despair of me, but kept me supplied with books on the Christian religion, such as Dr M'Cosh's *Divine Government*, Cook's *Biology*, etc. I continued to study them, and saw Dr Macdonald frequently to have difficult points in them explained by him. He was always very kind, and took great pains to help me in understanding the Christian doctrine of salvation. I was thus gradually led to perceive the love of God as revealed in the Incarnation of His Son, and I made up my mind to turn a Christian. It was on the 25th of December 1883 that I was baptised by Dr Macdonald, whom I must consider, under Divine providence, as the chief instrument of my conversion."

LETTERS.

During the period when all the six children were at home, letters to them and to friends regarding them were naturally very numerous. Space can be found for extracts from only a few of those which are of more general interest than the others.

To his brother and sister-in-law.

"CALCUTTA, 19*th April* 1878.

"We had heard the sad news of our dear mother's departure by the mail before that by which we received your kind letter. . . . Our dear mother was ripe for her departure. She performed her mission of testimony, active labour, and of patient suffering. Her life has not been in vain. To her, and to our dear father, all of us are under eternal obligations. We were very glad to learn that you took our dear father over with you. He will, I hope, feel the better of the change and enjoy it. . . . The Fyfes left us yesterday, and I am consequently not only Senior Missionary, but also 'Secretary and Missionary in principal charge of Bengal Mission of the Free Church,' according to the Foreign Mission Committee, but known to the native community and to Government as 'Principal of the Free Church College.' . . . The evening before last, I took part in the largest public meeting I ever saw in Calcutta to protest against the Vernacular Press Act, an Act which, I believe, will do an immense amount of mischief. I believe my speech occupied an hour in delivery—too long. Some of the native speakers made magnificent orations. There is a good deal of divided opinion in regard to the Act among Europeans here, but the natives are to a man against it."

To his brother.

"CALCUTTA, 24*th May* 1878.

"The weather is very hot, although on the whole not so hot as usual at this time of the year. And we are always very busy. The work goes on much as usual. Mr Hector and myself are the only Europeans in the Institution and Mission, where there used to be five or six. I have always a good deal of outside work in addition. . . . Monday last M. (Mrs Macdonald) and myself were at our

branch mission at Bansberia, and examined our three schools there. We got up at five o'clock in the morning to start, but lost the train by five minutes and had to while away three hours in the station, waiting for the next train."

To his eldest daughter.

"CALCUTTA, *26th Sept.* 1879.

"I am a long time in redeeming my promise to write you more of my own work as a missionary in Calcutta. I am what is called an 'educational missionary,' that is, a missionary who employs education as a means to win, by the preaching of the Gospel, souls to Jesus. There are 'medical missionaries,' 'artisan missionaries,' and other missionaries who are not spoken of under any of the above names, men who are supposed to do nothing but preach the Gospel. Of course there are none who refuse to do anything else. That would be, for Christian men and women, absolutely impossible. If a Christian is living among an ignorant, wretched, down-trodden and despised people, as many of these poor Hindus are, he cannot help trying to do something for them. He must try to do them good, remove their griefs, and relieve their distresses. Hence it is that these missionaries spend everywhere some time in trying to help the poor in various ways. Not only is this Christian and good in itself, but it helps the missionary to win the hearts of the people to Jesus. Thus an artisan missionary helps the people to make and use better tools, and to cultivate their fields better; and the medical missionary cures people of their bodily diseases, just as our Saviour Himself did; and thus, not only is good done to their bodies, but their souls are drawn towards the Great Physician. As a rule all these missionaries, with the exception of the educational missionary, see the individual people whom they address, or whom they benefit, only for a very short time. They are soon lost in the surrounding mass of human beings. Perhaps they never see them again, or if they do, it is only after long and irregular intervals, and thus the truth does not get a favourable opportunity of being understood, or of impressing them. Most of the people whom such missionaries meet are very ignorant and very stupid, and are taken up so completely with keeping the wolf from the door, that they have neither the time nor the desire to think of anything but their daily food. They need

not trouble themselves about clothing, for they wear scarcely a stitch. You have no idea how dreadfully, miserably poor are the great bulk of the inhabitants of India. To them the Gospel is most appropriately preached, for it, and it alone, is able to comfort them and make them happy for time as well as for eternity. There is, however, another and a much smaller class, more intelligent, and of great influence among their poorer neighbours. These will not come to the missionary's meetings, and the missionary has little or no opportunity of intercourse with them. He cannot confer favours on them or show kindness to them, unless it be by teaching English to their sons. They will not eat at the missionary's table, and their caste rules prohibit them from welcoming him at theirs. They have no firesides, around which the family gathers. In fact, the family never gathers together, for the females are not allowed to mix with the males. Thus there is little or no intercourse between the European and the respectable native. The European's pride of race and feeling of superiority prevent most Europeans, other than missionaries, from having much intercourse with the natives. Of course no Christian ought to allow himself to be carried away by such a feeling. Unfortunately, many a so-called Christian not only feels so, but allows such bad feelings to lead him to very un-Christian conduct towards the native. Hence many of these natives hate Europeans, and in hating them, hate Christianity. They cannot easily distinguish between a true Christian and a mere nominal Christian. Thus, though living in the same country, they meet only in the street, or in the bazaar. And these are not the best places to sow the seed of the Kingdom. In these circumstances, missionaries, very soon after their arrival in India, come to see how desirable it is to have the Gospel brought to the better classes in some way that will commend itself to them, and more especially, how desirable it is to have the Gospel brought to the young people before their heads and hearts are filled with the gods and goddesses of their forefathers, and with their wicked deeds. It was seen that if the young could be brought together in schools, they would be under Christian teaching and Christian influence, not for an hour or two, but for weeks and months and years, daily growing in knowledge of Christ and His love, and in intelligence of all the great and glorious doctrines of salvation; and doing this at the very time when the mind is most susceptible to the best and holiest influences, but also, unfortunately, though I suppose

necessarily, to the worse and most corrupting. You may often wonder, dear Aggie, why it is that you and your little brothers and sisters were sent home to Europe, so many thousand miles from your dear loving father and mother. Well, this was the very reason, more than anything else. It is often said that it is altogether on the score of health that the European children are sent home from India. So it is, if you include health of soul as well as health of body. For it is as desirable to keep away children from everything that is bad and wicked, from everything that would corrupt their young minds, as it is to keep their bodies from a house infected with small-pox or the plague. Now India is, spiritually considered, a morally infected house. Hindu and Mahomedan servants and others are so apt to corrupt young children that it is quite necessary to send the children home to a Christian land, where the influences for good are more powerful than those for evil, especially in really good families and in really good Christian schools. Children being thus susceptible, it is most desirable to have the best influences brought to bear on them when young. A very large proportion of Christians at home are converted before they are twenty-one. So it should always be. So it is in India. Hence the desirableness of mission schools and colleges. Dr Duff and the friends of missions saw this in his day, and our mission work in Bengal was commenced by opening a school and afterwards a college. It is in this institution, opened just fifty years ago, that I daily labour; but my work is by no means confined to the school and college."

To his daughters, Aggie and Mary.

"CALCUTTA, 21*st Nov.* 1879.

"We were very glad to get your nice letter by last mail, and to learn from it that you were both well and studying hard. . . . The man to whom you refer, asking whether he is a Christian yet, is, I suppose, one of those students or ex-students of our Institution, but which of them I cannot say. At any rate only one of them has been baptised yet. But this time I shall tell you not of one of our students, but of one of our servants, and not of his baptism, but of his death. Old Joseph was our gate-keeper, or *durwan*, as we call such. He was for a long time Dr Duff's *durwan* before he came to be *durwan* to the Orphanage. But long before that he

was a sepoy in the East India Company's army. He was *durwan* at the Central School, now better known as the Church Mission Normal School, for twenty-five years. So you see he must have been very old. How old I cannot tell, not so old as grandpapa in the Highlands, who is more than eighty years. Joseph must have been very close upon that. Among his papers I find a letter from the lady superintendent of the Normal School, in which he is said to have been 'upright in all his ways.' He was for upwards of a year *durwan* to Mrs Robson, who describes him as 'very honest and obliging, ever ready to do what he was asked.' But I must quote to you the whole of Dr Duff's certificate to him. It is dated Calcutta, 18th July 1863, just when Dr Duff was leaving Calcutta for good. He writes: 'This is to certify that the bearer, a native Christian, named Joseph, has for several years served as my *durwan*, and his wife as ayah to Mrs Duff, that we have uniformly found them assiduously attentive in the discharge of their several duties, that they have repeatedly given decisive proofs of sterling integrity, honesty, and trustworthiness, and that their whole conduct and demeanour has been in strict conformity with their profession as Christians; in short, that we have had good reason to regard them as a perfect prize.' These are strong words, but not stronger than true, as far as my knowledge of Joseph went, and I have known him for nearly eighteen years. I have also before me the marriage certificate of Joseph to Nannie, who is referred to above as Mrs Duff's ayah. As the father of a little child baptised by Mr Hector said, 'Ah! it was a lucky baptism, that by you,' so we may say of this marriage. . . . The only bad thing I ever knew Joseph do, as far as I remember, was his marrying a bad second wife. There was nothing wrong in his conduct as far as I know, but his selection was bad, and she did not remain long with him. I do not know what came of her, but she was bad, a great contrast to his Nannie. Among the papers left by him is his baptismal certificate, dated Cawnpore, 21st Sept. 1835, stating that he was baptised by Edward White in March 1828. He served Mr White from that date to 1835, and then came down to Calcutta to better his condition. He got work on eight shillings a month, but by degrees it rose very slowly till he had latterly with us as much as twelve or thirteen shillings, and his food in large part from the Orphanage. He had, however, from the beginning of this year got so frail that it was found necessary to appoint a successor and pension him on five

shillings a month—his food to be still supplied from the Orphanage. On Saturday last he died, and on Sunday morning I had the sad duty to accompany his body to the grave, after it had been brought in from his own little room in the out-offices to the verandah of the school, where all the children, who had for many years looked up to him as a great-grandfather, were assembled for prayers. His conduct was so thoroughly Christian, his influence and example so beneficial on Hindu, Mahomedan and Christian, that all within our gates, upwards of one hundred and sixty souls in all, greatly respected old Joseph. All his leisure moments, and they were, from the nature of his work, many, were devoted to reading his Bible. He had been able to save a little of his money in case of need in old age, some £10 in all. Before his death he asked that the whole of it be distributed among the poor Christians. On the Sunday on which he was buried a young Irish doctor was dining with us. He was in Calcutta for only a few days, a very good man, much interested in our mission work. I persuaded him, and not much persuasion was required, to give the address that evening at Beadon Square. He took for his text, 'Now there is no condemnation for them that are in Christ Jesus,' and in the course of his address referred to old Joseph and his consistent Christian life and the respect in which he was held by all. After he finished I mounted the bench and showed how the same Saviour, the same truth, the same Gospel, was for Englishman, Irishman, Scotchman, Hindu, and Mahomedan, able to save all, to convert, to sanctify, to glorify. I dwelt on old Joseph's character and life, on the change which the Gospel had effected in him. The audience were evidently affected and deeply interested. I have no time for more —but we always deeply, dearly love our darling children and daily pray for them. Oh that we were all as prepared to meet our God in bliss as Joseph was. His frequent prayer was, 'Come Jesus, and take me to Thyself.'"

To his brother.

"PACHAMBA,[1] 5*th Jan.* 1880.

"I am here for two or three days. I came up on Saturday morning, and am going down this (Monday) afternoon. I ought

[1] Pachamba is the original station of the Free Church Santal Mission, over two hundred miles north-west of Calcutta.

to have said *we*, for M. is with me. We left Calcutta on Friday morning as I had to solemnise the marriage of the daughter of our late missionary at Chinsurah. We remained at Chinsurah all day; we had dinner at Lal Behari Day's. I suppose you have seen his *Recollections of Dr Duff*. . . . It is an interesting book, and the author a very interesting man, and very clever. We left him at 10 P.M. and arrived here at 6 A.M. the following morning. Yesterday I baptised six adults, four Santals, at the forenoon service, which was conducted in Santali by Mr Stevenson, and two Hindus at the afternoon service, which was conducted in Hindi by Dr Dyer and his native assistant. The names of the converts were—Solma, Hingho, Delho, and Arsu, Santals, and Hurrai and Jacob (James), the Hindus. The latter name was an assumed Christian name after Dr James Dyer himself. There were other two to have been baptised, a man and his wife, but, as the wife expressed it, God took her husband to Himself and they could not keep him back, and she had to go and announce her great sorrow to his and her friends, and they would all shake their heads, and she would arrange about her things and come back and be baptised. Such were her words on Sunday morning, amid many tears, an hour or two after her husband's death. Not having been baptised, the body was taken away by his non-Christian countrymen and buried [burned?] in the jungle. If there had been an ordained missionary living in the place, the man would likely have been baptised some time ago. But when I saw him yesterday he was too weak and not sufficiently in his senses to justify my going through the outward rite. I believe he received what was in his case quite sufficient, the baptism of the Holy Ghost. And I hope her great bereavement will make the poor woman only more determined to cast all her cares and sorrows on the great Sympathiser, the Captain of our Salvation, who was made perfect through suffering."

To his brother.

"CALCUTTA, 19*th March* 1880.

"I am somewhat astonished that you have not written to me a word about your great fight or sent an [*Inverness*] *Courier*. [A later note acknowledges receipt of the paper with thanks.] You have no idea how much we here have been interested in your late

elections. India never was before so interested. There is an awful amount of Jingoism here, pure and simple, and many go in strongly for the Conservatives on that account. M. and myself have been dead against the Beaconsfield and Lytton administration. . . . We are now in our hottest weather and our holidays have commenced. We are quite well, but grilling with the heat; very busy also with the *Review*, of which after much hesitation I have accepted the Editorship. Everyone pleaded that its discontinuance would be a great loss, but no one could be got to take it up. . . . I baptised two men lately in connection with our Calcutta mission. The General Assembly [Institution] had a very interesting baptism this week, one of their very best students."

To his eldest daughter.

"Calcutta, 29*th Dec.* 1880.

"Many thanks for your Christmas card, which greatly pleased me. But I was much more pleased with your short note in which you express your decision to have Jesus as your Master and Guide through life, and to make a public profession of your faith in and love for Jesus. There is nothing that can give greater pleasure to mamma and me than to know that our dear children are indeed followers of Jesus; and if you do feel that you love and trust Him you should publicly acknowledge it before men and angels. You are fully old enough and intelligent enough to understand what you are about, and you cannot love and serve Jesus too young.

"As to the difficulty you mention, it is not much. But while we Presbyterians do not deny the Christianity of others, we do think order, reason and Scripture are more in favour of the Presbyterian form of government than in favour of independency, which is no government at all, or Episcopacy, which we think is contrary to all the disciples being equal, as they are represented in the Bible. In these circumstances, not to speak of doctrinal differences, which in many Churches are still more important, I would prefer your joining the Presbyterian Church. . . . You never said whether you met Mr Elmslie at Willesden. He is an old friend of your mamma, and I should think would be glad to see you on the subject. . . . We are anxious to learn that your eyes are not getting worse. You must not overdo them, but give them sufficient

rest. Of course we would like you to do well at your examinations, but your sight is of infinitely greater importance. If you go to Germany mamma would recommend that school in Strassburg in which she was. . . . Our united best wishes for you both for the New Year, and that throughout it you may largely experience the blessing and presence of God, keeping you from all evil and leading you always in the right. Our kindest regards and compliments of the season to Miss Unwin, and our warmest thanks for the kind interest she takes in you both."

To Dr George Smith.

"Calcutta, *7th Feb.* 1881.

"Yesterday I had the pleasure of admitting into the Church of Christ a young man of about twenty-eight years of age, who has been for about three months visiting me as a religious enquirer. Born a Hindu Brahmin of the highest caste, he passed his boyhood and a large part of his youth under the most orthodox influences. Some two years ago he bought, chiefly to help him in English, a copy of the English Bible, and became also a student of Keshub Chunder Sen's lectures. Under these influences he saw the evils of idolatry and became a Brahmo. Lately, becoming dissatisfied with Brahmoism, he began to enquire about the religion of Jesus. In this condition he was directed to the highly ritualistic Oxford missionaries of 'the Brotherhood of St Paul.' Not satisfied with them he came to me, and after some visits professed to be satisfied that salvation and peace were to be found in Jesus and in Him alone. He has studied up to the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University, was teacher in one of the Brahmo schools, and possesses a fair knowledge of the Bible and of Christianity. Dr Murray Mitchell, being present at the baptism, spoke very feelingly and encouragingly to the young convert. We hope he will remain firm in the faith through the grace of God. We were greatly rejoiced to have very good news this morning of our late convert S. N. B. Though subjected to much trial and persecution he has, we are assured, remained steadfast to the truth."

[From subsequent correspondence it appears that the first convert referred to in the above letter apostatised the day after his baptism.]

To his brother.

"CALCUTTA, 19*th Dec.* 1882.

"Your last letter conveyed to us the sad news of dear father's death. By the same mail we had also letters from A. M., Maggie and Betsy. Two mails came together. . . . If any man deserved a loving and a reverential memory from his sons, our dear father did. Himself the most unselfish, his ambition was to do all he could for his two sons; and the greatest and best he did was the example he set before us from day to day in adversity or in prosperity, in health or in sickness—the same steady, quiet, unfaltering faith in God, the same unselfish, self-denying, self-sacrificing disposition towards all, particularly as the correspondent [to a newspaper] put it, towards the stranger and the Christian.

"I am very glad that dear little Donnie [his youngest son] was at the funeral to represent me, but sorry that I had not the privilege to see him before he died. It was very kind of you to take him by the hand and walk, both of you, at the head of the coffin. I am very glad to learn that dear father was not called on to suffer long on a bed of sickness and pain. Let me know what has to be done to put the grave right, as to railing, inscription, etc., and what the cost will be. . . . I enclose a programme of our great Decennial Conference. I suppose it is the largest missionary conference ever held."

CHAPTER XI

BEADON SQUARE AND THE PREACHING CASE

QUEEN MARY: "Who are you that interfere with my government in the realm?"

JOHN KNOX: "Madam, I am a subject born within the same and therefore entitled to the citizenship of a free commonwealth just as much as the communion of a free Church."

THE open-air preaching in Beadon Square was the evangelistic agency with which the name of Mr Macdonald came to be most intimately associated. For over twenty years, mainly through his own efforts, these meetings were carried on from week to week, practically without a break. From time to time, and especially in the earlier years, the meetings were held on week-day evenings as well as on Sunday evenings, but the Sunday evening meeting never varied. It became one of the regular institutions of Calcutta. Meetings had been begun by Mr Macdonald in Beadon Square in August 1879, while he was still on the staff of the Institution. They were continued till the middle of the following January, when the pressure of other work compelled him, to his great regret, to discontinue them for the time. On leaving the College he resumed these meetings in 1881, and the last Sabbath he spent on earth found him at his accustomed post. The Sunday evening musical services in the Institution had lost their novelty, and were discontinued about the same time that the open-air meetings were commenced. In the open-air, singing was still used, but without musical accompaniment. Mr Kali Churn Banerjea's sons, and in later years, his grandsons, formed a small choir for singing Bengali hymns to native airs, and they were as faithful and as indefatigable in their attendance as their father and grandfather, who throughout all these years was Mr Macdonald's unfailing ally in this work. But what impressed a visitor to these meetings most was the fact that the one thing that attracted and kept the attention

of the crowd was simply the preaching of the Gospel. The singing was rather a preliminary while the audience was assembling. Once the crowd had gathered they listened intently perhaps for two hours on end, while one speaker after another spoke in Bengali or in English of the love of God revealed in Christ. Of course there was a good deal of coming and going during the progress of the meeting, but there was always a considerable nucleus who remained from first to last. When Mr Macdonald spoke in the earlier part of the meeting he was sometimes requested by the audience to give a second address at the close for the sake of the late comers.

It was very soon after these meetings had been begun that the "Preaching Case" occurred. This was due to an attempt on the part of the Chairman of the Municipality of Calcutta, who was also Commissioner of the Calcutta Police, to restrain the liberty which Christian missionaries had hitherto enjoyed, in common with Hindu pundits, Mohammedan moulvies, and anybody with a faith he thought worth propagating, of preaching in the open air in the streets and public squares of Calcutta. The case attracted considerable attention at the time throughout India, and Dr Macdonald himself used to say that he regarded his action in resisting the orders of the Police Commissioners and fighting the case out in the criminal court, as the most important service he had been enabled to render to the cause of preaching the Gospel in India. It is always an important achievement to settle any disputed question so thoroughly that it is not likely to be re-opened for a generation or two, and that is what Mr Macdonald did in the matter of the legality of open-air preaching. Apart from the interest of the proceedings themselves, they constitute a valuable precedent, and deserve to be recorded with some detail.

The gentleman who held the dual appointment just referred to was Mr (afterwards Sir) Henry Harrison, Mr Macdonald's old antagonist in the Roman Catholic controversy. He was a popular and efficient officer, had the reputation of being exceptionally kind and considerate to his subordinates, "from the learned baboo to the illiterate punkah-puller," and when a district magistrate in Midnapur, he had cultivated very friendly relations with the American Baptist missionaries. His proceedings against the missionaries were high-handed, and, as was eventually proved, illegal, but the case throughout, and on both sides, was conducted with as much courtesy and good temper as were possible in the

circumstances. No one accused Mr Harrison of being actuated by personal animus, nor did the missionaries themselves believe that the fact that he was a zealous Roman Catholic had much to do with his action in the matter. It was a fact, however, that of Christian missionaries, only the Protestants were affected by his action. The Roman Catholic missionaries in places like Calcutta did not, as a rule, follow the method of open-air preaching, "because," as one of their papers explained, "the reverence due to the Word of God is imperilled by any such practice in the present state of India." Nor was it ever hinted that the Viceroy, Lord Ripon, had anything to do with it. The movement was believed to have originated in a native anti-Christian party in the Calcutta municipality, led by an influential landlord and secretary of a landlords' association, who was also the editor of a Calcutta paper. The landlords of Bengal were at this time somewhat perturbed by an agitation that was being carried on among their tenants, mainly by means of open-air meetings in favour of a Rent Bill which was under the consideration of the Bengal Legislative Council. It is possible that they conceived the idea of striking a double blow at Christianity and at agrarian reform at the opportune time when a Roman Catholic was Police Commissioner and a nobleman of the same persuasion was Governor-General. Be that as it may, Mr Harrison had been only about a fortnight in office, in the year 1881, when a notice appeared on the *agenda* paper of the municipality that "an enquiry would be instituted into the practice of allowing municipal squares to be used for the purpose of open-air preaching and lectures," and two days later the landlord already referred to gave notice of a motion "that no preaching be allowed in any of the public squares vested in the municipality." But the day *before* this resolution was to be moved, an order was issued by the Police Commissioner, but not published to the public, authorising them to stop "any meeting for religious preaching" held in any of the squares without the permission of Mr Harrison as Chairman of the Municipality. On the strength of this order, Mr Macdonald and the Rev. W. R. James of the Baptist Mission were commanded by the police to stop while they were preaching to a most orderly and attentive audience in Beadon Square on Sunday evening, the 1st of May. This they refused to do, holding that the action of the police was illegal, but they promised to call on the Commissioner of Police on the Monday. They did so, but

were asked to go to his other, the Municipal Chairman's, office, in a different part of the town.

Meanwhile it had become known that the police had interfered with preaching in other places as well as in Beadon Square, and an informal meeting of the Calcutta Missionary Conference was called to take joint action. A statement of remonstrance was drawn up, and a deputation appointed to wait upon the Chairman of the Municipality. In this statement the missionaries submitted that they, as good citizens, had every wish to obey all duly constituted authorities, and no wish to infringe in any degree the rights of other people or to cause them injury or annoyance; that preaching in the squares and streets and other public places had been going on for fifty years, yet no just cause for complaint had arisen; that they did not claim any special privileges or rights in connection with these places, and that the enforced stopping of the preaching would be very difficult to effect without such an interference with the liberty of the subject as was unknown in any part of the British dominions, and could only be justified by a state of excitement and commotion dangerous to the peace of the community. Missionaries had the same right to enter Beadon Square as other members of the community, and had also the same right to speak to as many other people there as were willing to listen to them. If they began to speak, people would gather round them. Thus a missionary would scarcely be able to obey the prohibition except by absenting himself from the square altogether, and maintaining a rigid silence on religious subjects in public places. This statement was signed on behalf of twenty-three missionaries and ministers, by the Rev. George Kerry of the Baptist Mission; the Rev. K. S. Macdonald of the Free Church; the Rev. H. P. Parker of the Church Missionary Society; the Rev. G. Baugh of the Wesleyan Mission; the Rev. J. E. Payne of the London Mission; the Rev. G. G. Gillan, Church of Scotland Chaplain; and the Rev. Dr J. M. Thoburn of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission. These also formed the deputation. When Mr Harrison received them, he said it had been the practice of clergymen, until quite lately, to apply to the Municipal Chairman for permission to preach in the open spaces in the city. This the deputation did not admit. Two missionaries, it was true, had applied for permission to hold large gatherings in an unusual place on Good Friday, and Keshub Chunder Sen had also asked

permission to hold a monster meeting in Beadon Square. But these meetings had been of an exceptional kind, they had practically monopolised the places where they were held, and they had been widely advertised by placards. But no missionary had ever applied for a licence to preach in the usual way in any open public place. Mr Harrison then sought to justify his action on the ground that these meetings were multiplying, and the attendance at them increasing. To this the deputation rejoined that the more the public attended these meetings, the greater claim they had to the *protection* of the police. Some correspondence followed. The missionaries were informed privately that preaching might go on as usual, but the police continued to interfere. The Missionary Conference, at its ordinary meeting on May 9th, unanimously resolved to "respectfully decline to apply for personal permission to preach in those open places of public resort where we have a common right to be, and where the public traffic and convenience will not be interfered with by our preaching," and appointed a committee to watch the course of events. Mr Harrison, in acknowledging receipt of this resolution, expressed a hope that a *modus vivendi* satisfactory to all might be found. As the missionaries were prepared to accept any reasonable regulations for ensuring public order there seemed to be every prospect that the matter would be speedily and amicably settled.

On Saturday evening, May 14th, Dr Thoburn was preaching to a large and orderly crowd in Wellington Square, when a quarrel began in another part of the square, between two or three Bengali and the same number of Eurasian youths. They carried their dispute out into the street, where it caused some disturbance, till passers-by intervened and put an end to it. This was a trivial affair, and it had nothing to do in any way with the preaching; but Mr Harrison, as Commissioner of Police, ignoring the negotiations he was carrying on as Chairman of the Municipality with the missionaries, made it the pretext for issuing an order prohibiting preaching in Wellington Square altogether for the present, and in the other four squares except under written permission from himself, under a penalty of one hundred rupees. Throughout the case Mr Harrison seems to have played the part of a Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde, being all for conciliation as Chairman of the Municipality, and equally bent on repression as Commissioner of Police. The Conference's Committee met to

consider the situation. With the utmost regard for the preservation of the public peace, they decided that the preaching in Wellington Square should be discontinued, but that the preaching in Beadon Square should be continued at the individual risk and responsibility of those missionaries who took it upon themselves to disobey the order. Mr Macdonald was quite prepared to accept the sole responsibility, but the committee suggested that to make his action more representative two other missionaries, the Rev. George Kerry and the Rev. G. Baugh, should accompany him to Beadon Square that evening, the 18th of May. Mr Baugh was unable to fulfil this engagement, but the Rev. A. J. Bamford of the Union Chapel (London Mission) took his place. They called on Mr Macdonald, and after they had prayed together for help and guidance, they proceeded together with him to Beadon Square. Here they were met by a whole body of police—superintendent, inspector, sub-inspector, and four or five constables. Mr Macdonald mounted a bench, a crowd of about 150 Bengali gentlemen quickly gathered, the meeting was opened with prayer, and the preaching began as usual. The police ordered him to stop. He said he would only do so under force or the threat of force, and proceeded. The police said they had no authority to use force on the preacher, but must disperse the crowd, which had remained watching the proceedings with much interest, but perfectly orderly. The police went on to carry out their instructions. A portly babu, standing by himself within hearing of the preaching, when ordered by a police officer to disperse, answered, "How can I disperse, since I am alone, unless you blow me up?" The whole crowd were steadily pushed back till they formed a wide circle in the centre of which was the small group of Christians. By raising his voice a little, the preacher could still make himself heard, and the meeting went on as usual, with the police as an addition to the usual audience. The same course was followed on the next evening, but on summonses being taken out against the missionaries they decided to desist from preaching till the result of the prosecution was known.

At this point some divergence of opinion manifested itself among the other missionaries regarding the course of action which had been taken by Mr Macdonald and his friends. Some were of opinion that the proper course would have been to apply for written permission under protest and so to carry on the preaching under

licence pending the result of a memorial to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, or even to some higher authority. Mr Macdonald emphatically refused to do this. The police, he said, and not the missionaries, had broken the law, and neither the Lieutenant-Governor nor the Viceroy nor the Secretary of State himself could make an illegal action legal. And suppose the Lieutenant-Governor were to intervene and rescind the Police Commissioner's order, the legality of that order would not have been tested, and it would very likely be reinforced at some future time. The Commissioner of Police, he maintained, had acted *ultra vires*, and the only satisfactory way of proving this was by disobeying the order. All that was necessary was to prove to the satisfaction of the court that the order was illegal, and it would then be as if it had never been passed. Mr Macdonald felt, too, as a Free Churchman, that he was quite as fully justified in disobeying this order as Thomas Guthrie was when he put the interdict of the Court of Session under his feet and went and preached the Gospel under the arch of heaven in Strathbogie. Private influence was brought to bear even by the police, to keep the matter out of court, but the three missionaries were immovable. They were determined to assert rights which, they said, belonged not only to themselves as individuals, but to the Church of Christ in India.

Another party was in favour of the opposite extreme. Their advice to their implicated comrades was, plead guilty, make no defence, engage no counsel, make no appeal, pay no fine, but let them put you in jail. Two missionaries, the Rev. W. R. James and Mr E. C. Johnson, made this their policy. They, too, fighting, like Hal o' the Wynd, for their own hand, had disregarded the advice of the Missionary Conference and preached in Wellington Square where the prohibition was absolute, licence or no licence. Mr Johnson, or Lieutenant Johnson, as he was usually called, deserves more than a passing notice. He had formerly been an officer in Her Majesty's Indian army, but had resigned his commission to give himself to missionary work as a free-lance. Some years before, he had defied all rules and regulations by making his way into Afghanistan in disguise, to preach the Gospel. He was discovered, seized, brought back to Peshawar and handed over to the British authorities for having crossed the frontier without permission. He was released on promising to leave the district. The fact that his left arm had been eaten off by a tiger did not make

him a less interesting figure. Mr Macdonald, on the other hand, was determined to employ the best counsel they could get, and he and his friends were gratified to find that the sympathy of the native bar, Christian and non-Christian, seemed to be largely on their side. The counsel engaged for the defence were Mr Monmohun Ghose, Mr T. Palit and Mr Sale. The last was then a young barrister, the son of a well-known Baptist missionary. He has since become widely known in India as Mr Justice Sale. Mr Sale was instructed by Messrs Beebie and Lewis, and the others by Mr Kali Churn Banerjea and Mr Joy Gobindo Shome, who, Beadon Square preachers themselves, gladly gave their services as a labour of love. A Christian convert, Mr C. C. Dutt, and a Mohammedan, Abdur Rahman, were also associated with the counsel, so that European and Bengali, Christian, Hindu and Mohammedan were all banded together in defence of the right of preaching the Gospel.

In the ordinary course of events the Beadon Square men and the Wellington Square men would have been tried by different stipendiary magistrates, one of whom was a Mohammedan, Mr Amir Ali, and the other a European. To exclude the possibility of race feeling entering into the case, it was arranged that these two magistrates, sitting together, should try all the five accused, and also that, on account of the importance of the case, two honorary magistrates should sit with them. The honorary magistrates selected were Mr J. E. Caithness, a European, and Babu Gonesh Chunder Chunder, a Hindu. In this way the Wellington Square men, against their wish, got the benefit of counsel.

The determination of the missionaries to use all lawful means in defence of their rights was met with equal determination by the police. Passing by their own counsel, they employed the ablest barrister they could get in Calcutta, Mr Jackson. When the case came up on Monday, 23rd May, the missionaries' counsel pled for a postponement, to give them more time to prepare their case. This was resisted by the prosecution, as Mr Johnson refused persistently to promise not to preach in the meantime. But the magistrates granted the petition, and postponed the case till May 28th. Then the prosecution, not content with charging the accused with disobeying the Police Commissioner's order, and so rendering themselves liable to a penalty of one hundred rupees, added a second count under Section 188 of the Indian Penal Code,

to convict them of action tending "to cause rioting or affray." This was a much more serious offence, punishable with six months' imprisonment with hard labour, and a fine of a thousand rupees for each offender. The prosecution failed to produce a particle of evidence in favour of the latter charge. The police witnesses admitted in cross-examination that the meetings were quite orderly, that they caused no obstruction or breach of the peace, and that the only complaints ever made in connection with them had been about the partial action of the police, and not against the missionaries. The owner of twenty-two opium shops, who had been offended by some of the hard things said about his business by speakers at Beadon Square, was put into the witness-box, but denied that he had any particular objection to the preaching. Then a baboo testified that he went to Beadon Square daily, and he objected to the meetings because they interfered with his ventilation. The defence, in fact, did not consider it necessary to call any witnesses in connection with this part of the charge, and the magistrates recommended the prosecution to withdraw it, which they refused to do.

With reference to the other charge, the Police Commissioner founded his case upon Section 62 of the Police Act, by which he was empowered to frame rules for "the conduct of all assemblies and processions in the public roads, streets, or thoroughfares, and for keeping order and preventing obstruction in the same." The defence urged, in the first place, that such rules required the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor, which in this case had not been obtained, but that in any case the order was *ultra vires*, for the power to *conduct* assemblies did not include the right to forbid or suppress them. Even with the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor such an order was illegal. In the earlier stages of the case several members of the municipality had tried to prove that the public squares of Calcutta were the private property of the municipal commissioners, who could prosecute for trespass missionaries who preached in them without permission, just as they could prosecute trespassers into their own houses. Very naturally this argument was not brought forward in court.

The hearing of the case lasted ten days, and ten days' attendance in a crowded court in the sweltering heat of June in Calcutta might be regarded as in itself a sufficient punishment for far more serious crimes than preaching the Gospel. On 20th June their Worships,

in a densely packed and sympathetic court, gave their decision. They found unanimously that the Police Commissioner's action was illegal, dismissed the case, and discharged the accused. The prosecution intimated an appeal to the High Court. This involved the defendants in a good deal of extra trouble and expense, but the appeal was not proceeded with. It was rumoured at the time that the police had been advised by a very high authority to drop the case.

Then there were overtures to the Missionary Conference from the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Ashley Eden, through the Bishop of Calcutta, asking for suggestions with reference to a proposed appeal to the Supreme Government to amend the Police Act, in order to increase the Local Government's powers for regulating meetings in the squares. But, in the light of the magistrates' recent decision, the missionaries were very well pleased with the law as it was, and saw no need for amending it; in fact they would strongly object to any new legislation that threatened to restrict their accustomed and long-established liberty of preaching. Such, in brief, was the missionaries' message to the Bishop. The end of the matter was that no attempt at new legislation was made, but, with the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor, three simple police rules were made for the maintenance of order on the occasion of assemblies in the squares. The first was that half of Wellington Square and half of Beadon Square should be reserved for purposes of recreation, and that no public meetings should be held within these portions. The second was that the benches and seats belonging to the municipality should not be used by public speakers as pulpits or platforms. The third was that where one assembly was being held, no other assembly would be allowed within fifty yards of it. To these rules the missionaries heartily assented. The last, especially, was all in their favour; had they sought it as a boon they would probably have had some difficulty in getting it.

So ended the Preaching Case. It may be added that during the proceedings Mr Macdonald paid away almost every penny he possessed towards the legal expenses, to make sure that there would be no hitch. The costs were considerable, and had the appeal to the High Court been persisted in they would have been much more. All the money he had paid came back to him in donations from missionaries and others in all parts of India, and much more would have been given had it been needed.

As Mr Harrison has been mentioned several times in this narrative, it may be added that he died some twelve years later in circumstances of tragic sadness. He had been knighted, and had risen to a seat in the Bengal Legislative Council. Along with his two daughters he was visiting Chittagong in the course of an official tour. There all three were suddenly seized with cholera. One of the daughters recovered, but her sister and father died after a few hours' illness. Harrison Road, the finest thoroughfare in the native quarter of Calcutta, was so named in honour of Sir Henry.

The interruption caused by these proceedings did no harm in the end to the Beadon Square meetings. Partly no doubt as the result of the gratuitous advertisement, they grew in interest and in attendance. The audience sometimes amounted to 600 or more, and sometimes in the course of a single evening a thousand tracts were distributed, half in English and half in Bengali. The rival preachers did little harm. The "Sanskrit lecturer," as he styled himself, preaching a Christianised Hinduism, the "eclectic lecturer," as another professed to be, the straight-forward Hindu revivalist, the theosophist—they were all surprised to find in how kindly a spirit their efforts to get up a counter-attraction were received by the Christians. Sometimes the opposition preachers held out attractions of a kind to which Hindus were very susceptible, and which the Christians made no effort to imitate. One popular Vaishnava orator, for instance, had the power of bringing on at will a fit indistinguishable from epilepsy, whenever the occasion seemed to require it. These "beatific trances" were regarded as evidence of Divine possession and are described in the Shastras as *parabhakti*. On one occasion in one of the public theatres in Calcutta, when the climax of the play was reached, this individual fell into one of his trances, exhibiting all the scriptural symptoms of this state. Swift as lightning this became known in the remotest corner of the huge building; the play was stopped, and actors and audience joining together made the place resound with thundering peals of *Haribol*. The fit lasted so long as to cause anxiety, and it was not until *Harinam* had been dinned into his ears for a quarter of an hour that the youth returned to consciousness. His fame spread to America through a verbatim report of one of his Beadon Square addresses that appeared in the New York *Independent*. The editor of that paper had visited the Square and took down the speech in shorthand. Although his antics drew the crowds away, he professed

no antipathy to Christianity. These opposition meetings increased the interest in religious discussion, and anything was better than indifference. Some intruders from other provinces were not so favourably received. A very active anti-Christian organisation in Madras, called the Hindu Tract Society, sent an emissary to Calcutta to interrupt the Beadon Square meetings. The first time this youth made himself obnoxious to the preacher, the crowd of Bengali Hindus fell upon him, and treated him so roughly that the police had to rescue him and take him to the police office for protection. In the last years of Dr Macdonald's work he encountered determined opposition from a Panjabi who had come to Bengal, he averred, mainly in the interests of Vedic Hinduism, to turn the people of that heretical province from the worship of Durga and Kali. He made himself as troublesome to the Hindus as to the Christians, pouring forth his vials of contempt upon the Bengalis, and declaring that there was no pundit whose opinion was worth anything nearer than Benares. He was once taken into custody by the police for trespassing into the premises of the Chaitanya Club, a popular Bengali literary society. He wrote pamphlets in English, too, quoting the *Pioneer's* strictures on missionaries and Max Müller's tributes to the Vedas. Mr Kali Churn Banerjea amused the Calcutta Missionary Conference, when he read a paper there some years ago on Open-air Preaching, by telling them of one of these opposition lecturers who had organised a campaign in defence of Hinduism. At last, finding that he had exhausted all his stock of arguments, he called on Dr Macdonald to confess that he had not a shot left in his locker, and to ask if he could lend or recommend to him some books on Hinduism, from which he might get a supply of fresh material. "The writer," once wrote Mr Benjamin Aitken, a journalist well known in India, who was always to be found among the preachers in Beadon Square while resident in Calcutta, "has seen a great deal of open-air preaching in Bombay, Madras and Upper India, but never any friendly feeling and sympathy among the educated class of hearers at all approaching that which exists in Beadon Square."

The Beadon Square preachers were too wise and too experienced to make any exclusive claim for their own methods as an evangelistic agency. They always recognised that they were in co-operation with their fellow-missionaries in other spheres of effort, educational, literary or medical. Some of them had had the advantage of many

years' experience as college teachers, and were still connected with the University, in one way or another. Young men whose minds had first been awakened in the class-rooms of mission colleges or schools were in some cases brought to decision, years afterwards, by the open-air meetings; and the seed sown in Beadon Square was in not a few cases reaped in distant fields. Besides those who were baptised, there were many who were led to believe in their hearts in Christ. One evening one of Mr Macdonald's Bengali fellow-workers was standing in the crowd that had gathered round one of the opposition preachers, a pundit who was expounding rationalism. As the lecturer was speaking scoffingly of sin, and denying the need of atonement, an elderly Bengali gentleman standing near expressed his dissatisfaction to his Christian neighbour. The latter entered into conversation with him, to find that the Bengali, although not by name or profession a Christian, professed to believe in Christ. "I did not seek Christ," he said, "but Christ found me, here in Beadon Square." Another evening a Bengali Christian assured Mr Macdonald that he recognised in the crowd two dozen persons, old and young, from sixteen to sixty, whom he knew personally as believers in Christ still unbaptised.

There were many visitors to Beadon Square, from far and near. Very few persons, interested in mission work in India, could spend a Sunday in Calcutta without making an effort to be present at a gathering which was almost if not altogether unique. No one that we ever heard of was disappointed with the sight, or failed to appreciate its significance as a testimony to the progress already made or as a sign of hope for the future. The crowd of upturned, eager, finely-chiselled faces, the gleam of intelligence in the eyes as point after point in the address was caught, and the ready, sympathetic response to the affectionate pleading and persuasive eloquence of the speaker, were a sight that no one could easily forget. The neighbouring Beadon Street was ablaze with the lights of native theatres—for Sunday is high holiday among the office babus—the surrounding thoroughfares were teeming with the facilities an Eastern city affords for indulgence in all the grosser forms of vice. Yet here was a crowd of four hundred, five hundred, or six hundred Bengalis, most of them young men or men in the prime of life, drawn together and held together for the best hours of their weekly holiday, simply by the preaching of the Gospel. And it was the same all the year round; not only in the delight-

ful evening hours of the cold season, but in the blaze of the hot weather and the floods of the monsoon as well. The preacher's willingness to face the storm to preach the Gospel was not greater than that of some at least of his audience to stand through the dripping rain to listen to it.

The Rev. Robert Howie from Govan, after preaching one evening in Beadon Square nearly twenty years ago, declared that he had never got a better audience on Glasgow Green. At another time a Free Church elder from Edinburgh visited the meeting. Struck with the knowledge of Christianity which an English address he listened to took for granted on the part of the hearers, he said, "Why, that address might have been delivered on Calton Hill!" Someone else who was present added that the difficulty on Calton Hill would have been to secure an equally good audience.

The writer's own recollections of Beadon Square go back to the year 1888, when he visited Calcutta for the first time as a ship's surgeon. As he was to spend a Sunday in port, he naturally found his way to the Free Church Mission, and as naturally was carried off by Mr Macdonald to Beadon Square. It was a damp evening in September, but the bulk of the audience, which he estimated at several hundreds, remained standing for two hours and a half, from five till half-past seven, the latter part of the meeting being conducted by moonlight. The first speaker was a lawyer's clerk, who spoke in Bengali. The writer followed with an address from the fifty-first Psalm. Then an aged Bengali gentleman spoke. The writer was introduced to him afterwards, and had the pleasure of meeting him again several times on subsequent visits. He had a son, a doctor, a graduate of Cambridge, practising in England, and a deceased niece was well known as a writer of French and English poetry. He once found fault with the writer because an address he had listened to showed a stronger tendency towards Arminianism than was to have been expected in a Free Church missionary. His favourite author was Thomas Goodwin. The next speaker was Dr M'Coy, a gifted young American Methodist, who was editing the *Indian Witness* at that time. He died a few months afterwards. He spoke on the words, "Behold I stand at the door and knock." The proverb, he said, that every man's house is his castle, is as true in the spiritual as in the material sense. God honours man by respecting his freedom of will. The close was an impressive personal appeal to decide for Christ. Then a Bengali

doctor, who had been educated partly in Scotland, spoke in Bengali, being in this respect an exception to the rule that every one who could speak English preferred it to the vernacular. Mr Kali Churn Banerjea then spoke with his usual grace and fluency from the text, "God resisteth the proud." A stranger to India could not fail to be impressed as he listened to an English address delivered in language which for purity and refinement he had seldom heard equalled and never surpassed, even at home. It is also true, the speaker reminded his hearers at the end of his address, that the proud resist God. He spoke of two kinds of pride—pride of the understanding and pride of the will. In the end there would be grace for the humble, disgrace for the proud. Mr Macdonald himself brought the meeting to a close with an address on sin as the cause of suffering, and on the one way of obtaining peace and happiness by getting into harmony with the will of God. The young man who sang Bengali solos at intervals was a clerk in the Bank of Bengal. His sister had taken her B.A. degree a short time before, and was capped along with her husband, the same hood and gown serving for both. Two tracts, or rather pamphlets in English distributed in the course of the evening, one on the *Jubilee Hooghly Bridge*, the other on *Napoleon's Testimony to the Divinity of Christ*, were by Mr Macdonald himself.

Some years later, when the Indian Medical Congress met in Calcutta in December 1894, the writer was Dr Macdonald's guest. Along with a number of medical missionaries from various parts of India, who were members of the Congress, he accompanied Dr Macdonald to Beadon Square on the Sunday evening. It was a chilly evening, and Dr Macdonald went to the meeting wearing an overcoat, which he took off when he began to speak. Late that night he remembered that he had left the overcoat lying over the back of one of the benches in the Square, and gave it up for lost. But next morning a Bengali boy appeared at the house bringing the overcoat. When Mrs Macdonald asked him if she could give him anything to reward him for his trouble, he said he would like "a biography of Jesus Christ."

Although frequent mention has been made of opposition meetings organised by Vedantists and other Hindu sects, it must not be supposed that the preaching at Beadon Square was as a rule of a controversial character. It was not so at least in the intention of the speakers, but the Hindus often found matters of contention in

what to the western mind seemed to be the most elementary truths of religion. On one occasion, for instance, when Dr Macdonald preached from the words, "God is Love," a Vedantist denounced this as heresy. God, he said, does not love, and cannot love, for He has no attribute whatever beyond existence, bliss and intelligence. And the Swami Vivekananda used to declare that it was a sin to call men sinners. "The worst lie that you ever told yourself was that you were a sinner or a wicked man." Confronted with teachers whose religious ideas were so radically different from their own, the Christian preachers found it impossible to avoid controversial subjects, except by eliminating all that was distinctively Christian from their addresses; but while willing at suitable times and places to try to appease the Bengalis' insatiable appetite for religious discussion, they sought to confine their efforts at Beadon Square to the proclamation of God's love in the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The following notes of an evangelistic address found among Dr Macdonald's papers illustrate his favourite plan of illustrating Christian themes by incidents familiar to his Hindu hearers:—

"An old pupil of mine is married and has children. His sister-in-law was married to a neighbouring rajah, the owner of extensive estates. The rajah died lately, intestate and childless. The widow is supposed to have the right of adoption. She was anxious to adopt my friend's son, or rather one of his sons, her own nephew. In the interests of his son, the father was willing to give him up. The mother, however, would not consent, and she carried the day. Another child was adopted. Adoption in Hinduism is a recognised legal right, carrying with it certain privileges, but also entailing certain disadvantages. The adopted child enjoys all the rights and privileges of a true child, but he loses all rights and privileges which might have been his as his own father's child. So a choice has to be made. He cannot be both. The mother in this case valued for her child the rights and privileges which were naturally his, the father those which would become his by adoption. They could not both be right. Now, we are naturally heirs to misery, wretchedness and sin. We have the offer of being adopted into a Rajah's family—the family of Him who is King of Kings. Fathers and mothers may not value the privileges therewith connected. Somewhat like my friend's wife, they are rather suspicious of these privileges. They do not believe in them. But they may be wrong in this matter, however much interested they may be in the welfare

of their children. Besides, now that they have arrived at the years of maturity, the responsibility of choice rests on themselves. In my friend's case, the boy was a mere child, he could not choose for himself, but suppose that on his arriving at years of maturity he found himself in misery and wretchedness and saw his cousin, the adopted child, in the enjoyment of wealth and happiness, how would he look back on the choice made for him by his mother? In the same manner, if the young men before me refuse the offer of adoption into God's family now, while others, their friends and acquaintances accept the offer, how will they regard themselves and their present conduct in the next world, when they find themselves in misery and wretchedness, and see their friends in the enjoyment of all happiness and holiness as the sons of God?"

Mr and Mrs Macdonald went to Scotland on furlough in the spring of 1884, and spent about a year at home. Mr Macdonald addressed the General Assembly, and did his share of deputation work. He also visited Ireland again as a delegate from the Free Church to the Third Council of the General Alliance of the Presbyterian Churches at Belfast, and Mrs Macdonald accompanied him. At the meetings of the Council he read a paper on *Mission Union in India*, dwelling on the desirability of closer co-operation among the thirteen or fourteen Presbyterian Churches—Scotch, English, Welsh, Irish, Canadian and American—represented there. Such a union, he said, was specially desirable in order to found Presbyterian colleges for the training of pastors and other Christian agents, and for the production of Christian literature, and for the exposition of Presbyterian principles. He also advocated the removal of some disabilities which Presbyterian ministers complained of under the Indian Christian Marriage Act. At another sederunt, as was mentioned in a previous chapter, he urged upon Irish Presbyterians the importance of preaching the Gospel to the Irish Roman Catholics in the Irish or Gaelic language.

Before the eighteen months due to him under the rules had expired, Mr Macdonald, whose robust health did not appear to have been in any way affected by more than twenty years' residence in Calcutta, was eager to return to India. After spending about a year at home, he returned to his post in the spring of 1885, accompanied by Mrs Macdonald.

CHAPTER XII

THIRD TERM OF SERVICE

"Glorious as it is to rise to some great consummation on wings of dream and song, glorious as it is, also, to bend that impetus a little lower and take some practical crisis of life by storm, an even greater proof of our religion and the help our God can give us, is the life-long tramp of earth's common surface, without fresh wings of dream, or the excitement of rivalry, or the attraction of reward, but with the head cool, and the face forward, and every footfall upon firm ground."—GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

THE third period of service—reckoning from 1873 to 1884 as one period, although broken by special leave in 1877—was a somewhat tempestuous one in the history of the Free Church Mission in Calcutta. It is extremely undesirable that we should say anything here that would tend to rekindle the embers of controversies that are dead; but it would not be a faithful record if these matters were altogether ignored.

For one thing, there was trouble in the Bengali church. A party, including at least some of the most zealous and able Bengali members, took up the position that there was nothing in reason or in revelation to prevent a man who was considered qualified to preach from administering the sacraments of the Church. They held that in the circumstances of the Church in India, where there were small communities of Christians scattered throughout the country, some of them in places remote from ordained ministers, it was specially desirable that their liberty to do so should be recognised. To force the matter to an issue by compelling the Presbytery to pronounce an opinion, one of this party had his child baptised by one of the deacons. The Church could not accept this position, and the result was that a number of Christians left the Free Church and formed themselves into an independent body known as the Christo Somaj. Throughout the controversy that preceded this secession, Mr Macdonald seems to have tried to play

the difficult part of an intermediary. He did not concede the claim of those who advocated "lay baptism," but he believed that a more conciliatory attitude towards them from the first might have averted the division in the Church. After that division had taken place, he continued to cultivate more friendly relations with the new denomination than seemed, in the eyes of some of his missionary colleagues, to be wise. But it is possible that it was to a large extent due to his influence that some years afterwards the breach was repaired and the Church happily re-united.

Then the proceedings that led ultimately to the recall of one of the Calcutta missionaries were marked by a good deal of diversity of opinion in the Mission Council. Again Mr Macdonald seemed to be in a minority of one among the European missionaries. Against the moral character of the missionary involved, nothing as far as we know was ever suggested. His scholarship and ability were unquestioned. But he apparently had not learned the art of working harmoniously with his fellow-missionaries. He had first been appointed to Madras, but had been transferred to Calcutta, not with the concurrence of the local Mission Council, at a time when the Institution was very short-handed. After a few years he was withdrawn from Calcutta by the Foreign Mission Committee on the recommendation of the Calcutta Mission Council—Mr K. S. Macdonald dissenting—and granted a pension. On an appeal being made to the Assembly, the action of the Committee was upheld.

A number of changes in the staff of the Calcutta Mission had taken place before this, and others were soon to follow. Mr Henry Stephen had been appointed to the College in 1881 when Mr Fyfe retired, and Mr Alexander Thomson and the Rev. W. M'Culloch followed in 1882. The Rev. Alexander Tomory was appointed in 1887. Owing to the election of Principal Robertson to the chair of Church History in Aberdeen Free Church College, and the withdrawal of the missionary referred to above, the Rev. John Watt and the Rev. A. P. Telfer were appointed in 1888. In addition to his other duties, Mr K. S. Macdonald taught for eleven hours a week during the earlier part of this term in the Duff College, as the Free Church Institution was now called. Later, the arrival of reinforcements from Scotland set him free to devote his whole time to the duties outside the College which he had undertaken in 1881.

In 1887 Mr Macdonald was appointed by the Calcutta Missionary

Conference to represent it on an Educational Conference instituted by the Government of Bengal to consider such questions as grants-in-aid, the courses and standards for female education, and other matters in which the missionaries took a practical interest. In the same year he became Secretary of the Calcutta Tract Society, an agency distinct from the Bible Society, although very closely associated with it and housed under the same roof. One of his best known publications, *Papers on the Bible*, appeared during the same year. It was prepared specially for presentation to the graduates of the Indian universities, and consists of sixteen papers, four of them original and twelve selected. It was adopted in part by the Calcutta University as a text-book on the Evidences of Christianity in connection with the examination in philosophy for the M.A. degree. This book was followed after a short interval by another, *A Manual of Christian Doctrine*, for the use of mission schools and colleges.

A new form of effort begun this year was the visitation of the students' "messes." The Indian students from the country districts, like many of their comrades in Scotland, live in hired houses, six to a dozen of them together, engaging a servant to cook for them and another to sweep the house, and sharing expenses in common.[1] These establishments, called "messes," correspond in the native quarter to the "chummeries" in the European parts of the city. It was a lady, a Baptist by denomination, and Miss Gilbert by name, who, during a short stay in Calcutta, was able to open up this fresh and interesting field of enterprise—the systematic visitation of the non-Christian students' "messes" on Sunday afternoons for the purpose of Christian teaching. Mr Macdonald and his colleagues in the College eagerly took advantage of so promising an opening. They received more invitations to visit these "messes" to hold Bible classes than they were able to accept. In the

[1] Students who live very economically in this way can manage on seven or eight shillings a month for food. House rent, always a serious item in Calcutta, may come to a little less, and servants to two shillings. With a Brahmin to cook for them all (and some Brahmin students pay their way by doing this) any castes may live and eat together, provided always that the Brahmins are allowed to begin to eat a few seconds before the others, *pro formâ*. The irreducible minimum in the way of clothing consists of a white shirt, a loin cloth or *dhuti*, a *chudder* or shawl, and shoes, to which in these degenerate days an umbrella must be added. Of course two at least of each are necessary. No covering is worn on the head. The "rig-out" for the session may cost less than £1.

following year there were several inquirers in connection with the Beadon Square meetings, and two interesting baptisms, one of a Kulin Brahmin, and the other of a graduate in medicine.

At the meeting of the Calcutta Missionary Conference in 1888, Mr Macdonald read a paper on the relations between Hinduism and Christianity from the point of view of the Christian preacher. In this paper he embodied the results of many years of careful consideration of the subject in all its aspects. His conclusions were by no means favourable to Hinduism. It was true that extracts about the doctrine of sacrifice, and stories of the creation, the deluge and incarnations of the Deity might be quoted from the Hindu scriptures as coincidences, points of analogy or foreshadowings of Christian truth in Hinduism. But such selections were made from tons of rubbish, inanities and contradictions; and while such texts might seem very striking, still texts equally favourable to any other system of religion might be picked out of this heterogeneous mass. On the doctrine of a Mediator the Rig Veda had something to say, but its "Messenger" between God and men was also described in the Babylonian religion, and the character of these gods was drawn from the physical nature of fire and the sun. The connection between Christ and Krishna rested not upon reason or interpretation, but solely upon imagination. There was some similarity in sound between the two names, but that was all. The moon-god of the Assyrians was not necessarily sinful because his name was sin (as in Mount Sinai). The Mohammedan crescent was the picture and symbol of this god, and most inconsistently did Islam retain this image while professing to abjure religious symbols, pictures and images. This, by the way, is one of the comparatively few references to Mohammedanism found in Dr Macdonald's speeches and writings.[1] Continuing to discuss the question of Christ and Krishna, he said that the various attempts to identify them were, without exception, creditable neither to the heads nor the hearts of their authors. The question of age was very important. Max Müller contended that all Sanskrit literature, with the exception of the Vedic and Buddhistic, was later than the fourth century of the Christian era. No one would assert intelligently that the *Bhagavad Gita*, the great epic poem of which

[1] Although about a quarter of the population of Calcutta are Mohammedans, they rank lowest of all the religions in point of education.

Krishna was the hero, was either Vedic or Buddhistic.[1] All Indian manuscripts, Max Müller said, were comparatively modern. No manuscript written a thousand years ago was now existent in India, and it was almost impossible to find one written five hundred years ago. Many of the Hindu sacred books might have been borrowed from Christianity, but it was improbable that there was much indebtedness on either side. There were of course truths in Hinduism, as in every production of the human mind, as grains of gold and salt were to be found in almost every soil and every rock. But very few rocks were worth the expense of pulverization for their grains of gold or salt. Let them leave that expensive and unprofitable task to the Aryas of Lahore and other Hindu revivalists who were trying to adjust and rehabilitate decrepit Hinduism. Even on the points of boasted resemblance, if they probed deep enough, they found more anti-Christian and contradictory teaching than of what was really harmonious with Christianity. The Christian veneering or the Jewish coat of paint was not in the grain of the wood, or in the warp and woof of the web. Hinduism never acted as a schoolmaster to lead men to Christ. The facts of Hinduism might illustrate Christian truth and serve as pegs to hang it on, and the missionary of to-day might say with the Apostle Paul, "as certain also of your own poets have said," without expressing any opinion as to the history or relationship of the words quoted. Man-made religions ran on parallel lines, along easily discovered courses. The supernatural religion went on a spirit-guided path which frequently cut straight across the human inventions. But while nothing Christian was found in Hinduism, they could still find in it and in Buddhism the originals of Romish and Ritualistic corruptions. Penances and prostrations, pilgrimages and brotherhoods, could be traced to their Oriental sources, and were undoubtedly incorporated with Christianity when the Buddhists worked their way to the north-west during the early Christian centuries. Examined in the light of the new science of historical criticism, Hinduism appeared as "no supernatural edifice let down from heaven, but distinctly and consciously put together at ascertained periods by human hands."[2] The origin of Hindu rites and ceremonies, social and

[1] The reader may find the relation of Christ to Krishna, and the age and nature of the *Bhagavad Gita* fully discussed in a small book, *Gita and Gospel*, by Mr J. N. Farquhar, M.A., recently published by Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta.

[2] Sir W. W. Hunter.

religious, and the biography and history of the Hindu gods, were not hid from the student. Further, the acknowledged authorities had gone into the origin of these religious and social beliefs, and had shown their similarity to faiths held by men in the Isles of the Pacific, in the heart of Africa, and among the aboriginal races in the American forests, all of which sprang up seemingly independent of Jewish, Christian or Hindu inspiration. The conclusion of the whole matter was that the disease which Christianity came to cure was found in Hinduism, for the great facts of sin, sorrow and depravity were as wide as the human race. Beyond that there was not much in the way of help or comfort for the Christian missionary to be found in Hinduism. The consensus of opinion among the missionaries who listened to this paper seems to have been that its teaching was sound, and that in preaching to Hindus as to others the positive proclamation of Christian truth was most likely to bear fruit.

A few months after the date of this paper, in the cold season of 1888-89, a deputation, consisting of the Rev. Professor (now Principal) Lindsay, D.D., of the Free Church College, Glasgow, who had recently been appointed Convener of the Foreign Mission Committee, and the Rev. J. Fairley Daly, B.D., also of Glasgow, in the course of their tour through the Church's missions in India, visited Calcutta. With their desire to see more attention directed to the work of preaching the Gospel outside the schools and colleges, Mr Macdonald heartily sympathised, and when their report appeared he pointed out, in a pamphlet printed for private circulation, that the efforts that had hitherto been made or proposed for extending the work in this direction had received no encouragement from home. The restrictions placed upon his own plans for evangelising the educated classes have already been mentioned; and at an earlier date, when the Calcutta missionaries had expressed a wish to set free one of their number from educational work to preach in Hindustani among the neglected multitude of Mohammedans in the metropolis, the Committee in Edinburgh had not only vetoed the plan, but practically censured the missionaries for having suggested it. With the deputies' opinion that the "manifold and direct evidences of the indirect results of mission college education" were less apparent in Calcutta than elsewhere, he entirely disagreed. In all that made for "the undermining of Hinduism and the upbuilding of Christ as the foundation-stone among caste Hindus, in both

destructive and constructive results not consummated in open profession of Christ by Baptism," Calcutta, he said, was twenty-five years ahead of Bombay, Madras or Nagpur.

In 1889 the plan was adopted of giving an occasional lecture to the assembled students in the Duff College, in the hour usually devoted to the Bible lesson in the various classes. The first of these lectures was delivered by Mr Macdonald on the *Insufficiency of Mere Theism.* It was published afterwards in pamphlet form, and had a wide circulation.

At the end of this year the Fifth Council of the Presbyterian Alliance of India met in Calcutta. Mr Macdonald was unanimously elected Moderator. His opening address was a review of the history of the Alliance and a renewed plea for union. There was nothing, he declared again, in doctrine, polity or worship, to keep the Presbyterian Churches in India apart, and the interests of Christianity, especially from the missionary point of view, would be advanced by their union. The proceedings throughout were marked by a spirit of harmony and goodwill. After prolonged and elaborate discussion, a satisfactory scheme for organic union was formulated. Every difficulty seemed to disappear. The scruples of the American United Presbyterians, a large denomination with a flourishing mission in the Panjab, who refuse to use anything but the Psalms of David in worship, were considered, and a provision made that at gatherings of the United Church where this section was represented no hymns would be sung. The members separated in the firm belief that this union, so long contemplated and so eagerly desired, was about to be an accomplished fact. But objections were raised by some of the authorities at home and by some of the missionaries in India who had not attended the meetings. These objections had not been ignored, but they had seemed less formidable to those present in Calcutta than they evidently were to some of their brethren. The anomalous position in which the union would place the European or American missionary, who could not very well be under the jurisdiction of a self-governing Church in India and of another Church in the West, at one and the same time, was one of the obstacles that to many seemed to be insurmountable. Many of the missionaries expressed their willingness to sacrifice their status in the home churches, in order to throw in their lot with the Indian Church; but the authorities at home did not seem to be equally willing to allow them to do so. Then the alleged heretical tendencies

of some Free Church professors played no inconsiderable part in the discussions. So the scheme was allowed to drop, and the consummation was again postponed.

A lecture on the *Ramayan*, one of the great epic poems, which in its Hindi version by Tulsi Dass is very widely read in North India, attracted a good deal of attention, and was highly commended at the time by the native press as an example of the attitude the Christian missionary should always take towards the religious classics of the Hindus. It was an indication, too, these papers said, that there had been a change for the better in this respect in recent years. The lecturer, after sketching the story of Ram (one of the incarnations of Vishnu) and Sita his wife, the hero and heroine of the poem, quoted extracts which to him seemed to support the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, especially substitution, and others which showed that drunkenness was at one time common in ancient India. Sita he held up as a model of womanhood, and pointed out with satisfaction that she was not a child when she married, nor was there anything in the whole poem to favour the custom of infant marriage. But there were examples of the evils of polygamy, and although the generous and heroic side of Ram's character was justly admired, his moral delinquencies were unsparingly denounced by the lecturer, as they had been by Sita herself. The tone of all this strikes one as being somewhat different from that of the paper on Hinduism and Christianity; but it is one thing to give an address to missionaries in conference and another thing to lecture to Hindus.

In 1890 the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon Mr Macdonald by the Knox College, Toronto. Principal Cavan wrote: "The Senate came to this resolution in consideration of Mr Macdonald's high attainments in the studies proper to his profession, and of the eminent services which he has rendered to the missionary service, in all its departments, and to the cause of true religion generally. With special satisfaction the Senate has noted the very influential part he has taken in the negotiations for closer union of Presbyterianism in India."

In 1891, in addition to his other duties, Dr Macdonald was Moderator of the Wellesley Square Kirk Session, during the vacancy caused by the resignation of the Rev. William Milne, now of Montreux. He had much pleasure in seeing the Rev. David Reid called to succeed him, and in presiding at his ordination in February 1892.

The period of service before furlough had now been reduced to seven years, so Dr and Mrs Macdonald went home in the spring of 1892. In crossing India to sail from Bombay they paid a brief visit to Nagpur (the Bengal-Nagpur railway, the most direct route between Calcutta and Bombay, had been opened in 1891). They had intended visiting the missions of the Canadian Presbyterian Church in Central India, but the intense heat that prevailed compelled them to abandon this plan. Among the usual addresses of which missionaries homeward bound are the recipients, was one from the Calcutta Improvement Association, which imparted a welcome novelty to the stereotyped style of such productions by breaking into verse. One of the verses runs :—

> "'Mayst thou surmount all dangers!'
> Is the prayer of those for whom
> Thou camest to distant India,
> Far from thy Highland home.
> In sorrow we resign us
> To the will of Him above,
> That keepeth all who trust Him
> Safe in His arms of Love."

The poetry is at least as good as the prose it replaced would have been, and the sentiments, be it remembered, are those of Hindus. The Rev. Alexander Tomory, who had in 1890 married Mary, Dr Macdonald's second daughter, and the Rev. John Watt made themselves responsible for the Beadon Square meetings during this period of furlough.

In September of the same year Dr Macdonald crossed the Atlantic as a delegate from the Free Church of Scotland to the Fifth Council of the Presbyterian Alliance, which was to be held that year at Toronto. Mrs Macdonald accompanied him, and in every way the trip proved to be an exceedingly pleasant and interesting one, and a happy memory for the rest of his life. It was interesting to preach to his countrymen there in Gaelic, which they still spoke as their mother-tongue, although many of them were born in Canada. It was to this work, it will be remembered, that he had thought of devoting his life in student days, till he "heard the East a' callin'" with a call he felt he could not resist. At the Alliance he read a paper on the Opium Question in India, in which he treated the subject in much the same way as he afterwards did in his evidence before the

Opium Commission in Calcutta. His views were not those that were held by many other missionaries, and a good deal of diversity of opinion was expressed in the discussion that followed his paper. "But a large number," he writes, "and I was vain enough to think they were the more intelligent, agreed with me in my view of the matter." At any rate he was the last man to resent fair criticism, or to be daunted by opposition. The beauty of Toronto was duly appreciated, and the hospitality of their friends there was unbounded. Their host was Mrs Ewart, a sister-in-law of Sir Oliver Mowat, the Canadian Prime Minister, and "the grand old man" of the Dominion. It was a great pleasure to meet him. Sir Oliver gave Dr Macdonald a copy of his lecture on the *Evidences of Christianity*, which the latter, on his return to India, not only reproduced in his *Review*, but printed also as a tract for distribution. From Principal Cavan, too, they experienced much kindness. The freemasonry which exists among Anglo-Indians extends to some degree to their friends at home, and Dr Cavan, who had a son-in-law a missionary in India, was a member of the order. Dr Macdonald, moreover, had followed with sympathy the work he had done in resisting and counteracting Romish and Jesuitical aggression in Canada. Among the recreations which relieved the more serious labours of the Alliance was a memorable visit to the Falls of Niagara. The tour included Chicago, New York, Boston and Princeton.

Part of the following winter was spent in London, where Dr Macdonald was supremely happy browsing among the rich pastures of the British Museum, and entering with keen relish into the religious and intellectual life of the metropolis. One of the arguments that he had heard repeated *ad nauseam* by the opponents of Christianity in Calcutta, was that that religion was a spent force in England, generally discredited by thoughtful people, many of whom were turning to the ancient creeds of the East for a faith that would satisfy both their spiritual and rational natures. It was with a good deal of curiosity, therefore, that he sought out the headquarters in London of those movements of which he had heard so much in India. The Rev. Charles Voysey was held in high repute among the Brahmos, who used his hymns and prayers in their services. Dr Macdonald went to hear him preach in Swallow Lane Chapel—

sacred in his eyes to the memory of the Rev. John Macdonald, one of his saintly predecessors in Calcutta—and after listening to his diatribes against Christ and His apostles, delivered to about seventy listless hearers, came away feeling that Christianity had nothing to fear from *him*. Mr Moncure D. Conway's was a name of still greater power in Calcutta. One of his books much prized by the Brahmos, the *Sacred Anthology of Eastern Religions*, was a selection from the Hindu Shastras side by side with extracts from the Bible. He was a voluminous writer, with forty entries against his name in the British Museum catalogue, and a recognised authority on demonology and devil lore. A large book he had issued on the subject was much read and quoted by babus, who rejected Christianity as well as Hinduism. When Dr Macdonald saw it widely advertised that he was to lecture in South Place Chapel, Finsbury, on the text, "Art thou come hither to torment us before the time?" he went to the place twenty minutes before the advertised time to be sure of getting a seat. He found the chapel door still shut, and had to walk up and down the street for ten minutes to keep his feet warm. The only other person there was a poor Panjabi, who was trying to earn enough money to pay his passage back to India by selling atheistical literature. He told Dr Macdonald that he was a believer in Dyananda Saraswati, and opposed to Christianity. When the hour of service arrived there were about one hundred and fifty persons present. The proceedings were opened without prayer, but some moral lyrics from modern authors were sung, and passages were read from Mr Conway's *Anthology*. The description of the sermon and its *sequelæ* may be given in Dr Macdonald's own words. They are a good illustration of the rare skill he possessed of getting an opponent into a corner and keeping him there :—

"The discourse disappointed me. Mr Conway showed no special knowledge of the subject, nor did he give us any comprehensive view of it, scientifically or otherwise. But I must admit that he did a little startle me by his opening words that the Bible was the most interesting book in the world—provided you did not read it religiously; and that it was made up of passages, legends, sayings and incidents from all the other sacred books of the world. To illustrate this, and to lead to the treatment of his subject, he said that the incident about the

demoniac in the Gospel from which his text was taken, was simply a modification or reproduction of the story of Buddha's destruction of the 2000 Nagas.[1] I have read a good deal of Buddha's sayings and doings, but could remember nothing that could in any way justify such an explanation of the miracle and the destruction of the swine. So next day I dropped a card to Mr Conway, asking him if he would kindly inform me whence he got the story of Buddha's destruction of the 2000 Nagas. He wrote back the following day saying they were not destroyed but converted (a very material difference in the analogy between the two stories), and added, 'The story about Buddha and the Nagas is in the *Mahavanso*.'

"Doubting Mr Conway's parade of learning, especially as I knew that the *Mahavanso* was a big book (about the size of our Bible), containing one hundred chapters of great length (the latter has upwards of three hundred verses); that the book contains little of Buddha's sayings or doings; and that Mr Conway did not say in what chapter or verse the story was to be found, I went to the British Museum Reading Room, and called for the volume, and instituted a search by means of an Index and Table of Contents; with the result that I was satisfied that there was no such story as Mr Conway told us in the *Mahavanso*. I then called for the volumes in Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East*, bearing on Buddha and Buddhism, and satisfied myself that it was not in one of them. Just as I returned these volumes to the attendant, I observed Mr Conway enter the Reading Room. I went up to him, showed him his card in reply to mine, and asked him to tell me where it was in the *Mahavanso* that the story was to be found, as I had failed to find it there. Then he asked me if the *Mahavanso* was not made up of the sayings and doings of Buddha? I answered him that it was not; that it was a history of Ceylon, written many hundreds of years after Buddha had died and after Christ was born. He then added, 'Try the *Sacred Books of the East*.' I answered that I had done so, and was satisfied that the story was not in any of them. He then suggested Rhys Davids' book on Buddhism in the S.P.C.K. series. I said that I had read it years ago, and did not believe the story was there. I then told him the story of the conversion of three great Indian philosophers who had a large following, and one of the followers had, as a punishment, been

[1] In Buddhist mythology the Nagas were siren-serpents, half human, half snake.

born in a new birth as a serpent. Of course that story had no analogy to the Demoniac, and this he saw at once; so he denied that that was the story to which he referred. I asked him to find the story for me, and he answered that his library was in New York. I added that mine was in Calcutta, and that as we were acting contrary to the rules of the Reading Room in conversing, we must part. I wrote to him next day, saying that I would feel much obliged if he would kindly give me an extract from his sermon or lecture containing all he said about the Buddha story. Next day he replied that it would not be convenient to do this. I have neither seen nor heard anything of Mr Conway since.

"I believe the words of the *Mahavanso* on which Mr Conway built his inverted pyramid are these: 'Having himself converted thirty (princes) of the tribe of Bhadda, the Saviour (*i.e.* Buddha), with the view of converting Kassapa and the thousand Jatilians, took up his abode at Uruvela, during the *hemanta*, devoting himself to their instruction.'"

It seems strange that it did not occur to Dr Macdonald to simply point out to Mr Conway that the *Mahavanso* was written at a much later date, *circa* 450 A.D., than anyone has yet ventured to assign to the Gospels.

On the Sunday evening, after having heard Mr Voysey, he attended St James' Hall and heard a stirring sermon by Mr Hugh Price Hughes, delivered to a crowd of five thousand persons that packed the building from the floor to the ceiling. And after listening to Mr Conway, he attended Spurgeon's Tabernacle, where Dr Pierson spoke to five thousand earnest, enthusiastic worshippers of God in Christ. The forces represented by Messrs Conway, Harrison and Voysey were, he believed, weak as water in the presence of those represented by these Christian preachers. The particulars of his visit to Mr Frederic Harrison's Positivist Temple in Newton Hall do not seem to have been preserved, but it is evident that he did not see or hear anything there that led him to change his views about the school of Comte. Careful inquiries about the so-called Mohammedan movement in Liverpool convinced him that it was "a mere Brummagem business." He found reason to believe, too, that, generally speaking, Unitarians were every day becoming fewer in number and weaker in power. One thing that did surprise him was to find that Theosophy, which had been to a large extent discredited in India, seemed to be threaten-

ing to do much harm in London. It was young and novel, mysterious and romantic, its literary activity was enormous, and it had cast its strange spell over a number of able English editors. It was, Dr Macdonald believed, the most deadly foe Christianity had to face in London.

But what impressed him most was the positive evidence everywhere of the steady progress of Christianity. He was struck not only with the vitality of the Christian Church as seen in its services for worship, but equally with the many manifestations of the spirit of Christ in the countless philanthropic agencies and in the whole tone of public and social life. He took the trouble to analyse in his own mind with some care the improvement he saw and felt around him as compared with his recollections of thirty years before. He noted as chief among the elements of this progress the more practical character of prayer; the greater concentration of thought on the Person of Christ, the Resurrection, and the work of the Holy Spirit; increased interest in and attention to the young; greater depth and breadth of enthusiasm for Home and Foreign Missions; the better organisation of congregational work; more liberal giving to the cause of Christ; improvement in Christian literature, both as to matter and form, and a decline in denominationalism. He felt that he could go back to his friends in Bengal and honestly tell them that if they really believed that Christ was less of a living force in the West than He had ever been before, they had made a mistake.

In London he met many interesting people, the leaders in religious and charitable work, happily too numerous to mention. He had lunch one day with General Booth at the Salvation Army Headquarters, who inquired kindly about mutual friends among the Bengali Christians. He visited the Houses of Parliament, but "was not favourably impressed by our legislators as a working body, nor by their engine the House of Commons."

The summer was spent in Scotland. At the beginning of the season he attended the Jubilee Assembly of the Free Church. It opened in Edinburgh on the 18th of May 1893, exactly fifty years after the Disruption.

It was also during this furlough that Dr Macdonald took part in the annual missionary meeting in Liverpool, in connection with the Presbyterian Church of Wales, or the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists. The relations between this mission and that of the Free Church

had always been most cordial. When the first missionary from Wales reached Calcutta in 1840, it was Dr Duff who suggested the hill tribes of Assam as a promising field. Dr Macdonald watched the progress of the work with great sympathy, and was the valued friend of many of the missionaries. Outside of their own mission, one of them has said, no one took so much interest in their work as he did. He had visited their field, along with Mrs Macdonald, a few years earlier, and had been deeply impressed by all he saw and heard. When he went to the meeting in Liverpool, he found to his surprise that the proceedings were entirely in Welsh. When his own turn to speak came, he began in Gaelic, in order, as he afterwards explained in English, that they might be able to sympathise with a man who had sat for two hours listening to speeches in an unknown tongue. Irish, as we have seen, he could understand, but of Welsh he could make nothing.

Letters.

To his brother.

"Calcutta, *7th Aug.* 1886.

"Our correspondence lags. I suppose a natural result of age. At least I am getting worse and worse every day; and I do not think you are improving. Mrs Manson is the only one I know who seems to improve with age, as a correspondent. I have lots of correspondence of a business character, in connection with the *Review* and the Tract Society. Then there are lots of missionaries all over the country who write to me for information concerning one thing or another. Only two days ago I had a letter from a German missionary asking what books I would recommend on 'Apostolical Succession.' But correspondence as such becomes less and less palatable."

"Calcutta, *7th Jan.* 1890.

"We wish you all a happy new year and many happy returns, tho' the year will be far on before you get this. . . . We are just through a very busy and exciting time, because of the Sunday School Convention and the Fifth Council of the Presbyterian Alliance. [In connection with the former] I was selected as the representative missionary to give the address of welcome to the

delegates from all India. But I had not much more to do with it beyond attending the meetings. I am not a S.S. teacher or superintendent. But as Chairman of the Committee entrusted with making arrangements, I had more than anyone else to do with the Council of the Alliance. Mr Hamilton, Clerk of the Established Church Presbytery, was Clerk of this Committee and afterwards of the Council. This Committee you must not confound with another Committee of which I was also appointed Chairman, and an American Missionary, the Rev. R. Morrison, labouring some 1500 miles away, was Clerk. This latter Committee consisted of one representative from each of sixteen Presbyteries, etc., scattered all over India [for the purpose of promoting organic union among the various sections of Indian Presbyterians]. . . . The arrival of Prince Albert Victor has added immensely to the gaiety and dissipation. Most of the influential people of Calcutta give their money for fireworks, balls, etc. Some of us think a permanent, useful memorial of his visit more desirable. I am a member of the Committee entrusted with this latter. But I am afraid it won't come to much. . . . I have been expecting from you the book you promised to send me to help me in writing my tracts on *What Jesus Said*. I am, however, in receipt through the Tract Society here of Professor Bruce's *The Kingdom of God*. I find it useful, though it may not possibly be sound from your standpoint, any more than Dr D., but in these matters a great deal depends on the standpoint. I am always greatly interested in your pencil remarks on these heterodox (?) divines in the *Expositor*. What do you think of our Basis of Union? It is not as yet heterodox! . . . I have created some commotion among the younger missionaries by my paper on the Text-books . . . What text-books are used in the schools under your Presbytery? As the only Christian on the Government Text-book Committee, I have a great deal to do in getting justice done to Christian books and in keeping out Hindu and anti-Christian books."

CHAPTER XIII

THE CAUSE OF INDIA'S WOMEN

"From out the sunset poured an alien race,
Who fitted stone to stone again, and Truth,
Peace, Love and Justice came and dwelt therein;
Nor in the field without were seen or heard
Fires of suttee, nor wail of baby-wife
Or Indian widow."

—TENNYSON (*Akbar's Dream*).

NOTHING appealed with more power to Dr Macdonald's kind and sympathetic heart, than the condition of women in India; for nothing did he plead more earnestly, or labour more assiduously, than to see their wrongs redressed and their rights acknowledged. A chapter may appropriately be devoted to the subject here, not because his efforts on women's behalf were confined to any one term of his missionary service, but owing to the fact that it was towards the end of the third period, in 1891, that a crisis occurred in connection with one aspect of the question that was all along so near his heart. After many years of agitation, the Government of India then intervened by means of legislation, not to effect a permanent settlement of the matters we are to discuss, but to make at least an important concession to enlightened public opinion, and to take a distinct step towards bringing the laws in India for the protection of women into line with those that prevail throughout the rest of the British Empire.

It was once said by an English divine that there were two rocks upon which men either found salvation or made shipwreck of their souls; the one was God, the other was woman. It is a statement amply verified by missionary experience. To Mohammedanism, as we have said, Dr Macdonald does not seem to have paid much attention, not at any rate an attention proportionate to that which he devoted to Hinduism and Buddhism. It has been described as of

all the great religions the one with the most lax morality.[1] Polygamy and concubinage, each on a liberal scale, are sanctioned both by the precept and example of Mohammed, and a man's right of divorce is absolute and undisputed, effected by uttering a single sentence. When Christians have brought discredit on their religion, it has been by forsaking the example of Christ; Moslems have done so by imitating their Prophet.

With reference to Buddhism, Dr Macdonald at one time engaged in a long correspondence in some of the Calcutta native papers on its relation to women. His main contention was that Buddha, by failing to discriminate between the moral and the immoral in the relation of the sexes, tended to debase marriage and to exalt prostitution. As a matter of fact, Buddha had openly patronised immorality when he partook of the hospitality and received as gifts a portion of the earnings of Ambapali, the far-famed courtesan of Vesali, and declined in her favour the invitations of the princes royal of the place. The practical outcome of Buddha's teaching, as seen in Burmah, was a very low standard of morals. Marriage was regarded there as a mere temporary arrangement; eating out of the same dish together was considered to be a sufficient wedding ceremony. It was only binding at the will of the parties, and could be dissolved as easily as it had been formed. This, said Dr Macdonald, was but the natural result of Buddha's unnatural attitude towards women. The initiated must not even touch a woman. The story was quoted of the disciple who asked if, on seeing his mother in a ditch, he could not pull her out to save her life? He was told that he might give her a stick or a rope to hold, and proceed to pull her out with his back turned, thinking at the same time that he was pulling out a log of wood.

But it was in connection with the Hindu laws and customs that reform was most urgently demanded. Suttee, although still occasionally practised, had been abolished by law long before Dr Macdonald arrived in India, but in one of his lectures he said he would never forget the thrill of horror that passed over him when one of the converts told him how he himself, while yet a little boy, had applied the torch to the funeral pyre, on which not only the corpse of his father, but also the living body of his shrieking mother, were to be consumed. Yet the evils that remained, infant

[1] Mr Meredith Townsend's paper on *Islam and Christianity in India*, in *Asia and Europe*.

marriage and enforced widowhood, were hardly less cruel; many widows, in fact, if free to choose, would prefer the brief torture of suttee to the life to which they are now condemned. Even among many Indian Christians, Dr Macdonald found that these things were tolerated, or at least regarded with indifference. He pointed out once to the Calcutta Missionary Conference that their Decennial Statistics in 1883 showed that in Bengal at that time there were thirty-two Christian boys and eighty-seven Christian girls who had been married below nine years of age, and also nine Christian widows under that age. It was stated at the Calcutta Decennial Conference in 1882, that there were twenty-one million widows in India, equal to one-fifth of the female population, of whom probably not more than half had ever been wives.

As a rule, in discussion with Hindus, Dr Macdonald carried the principle of conciliation to its utmost limits, and he was often accused of being biased in favour of the native. But we search in vain for any trace of concession to Indian prejudice or feeling in all his utterances and publications on these questions regarding the wrongs of helpless girls and widowed women. He took every opportunity of denouncing the evils of child marriage and enforced widowhood in unmeasured terms. They were a disgrace to the country, one of the greatest curses that ever afflicted a nation, and to tolerate them was mean and cowardly. The vehemence of his invective even roused the resentment of the Bengali Christians, and he used to admit that this was the one subject upon which, during his long life, he had seriously differed from his Bengali Christian friends. He would not even admit that these customs had the sanction of antiquity; they were unknown in Vedic times, a corruption of comparatively modern origin, at once the result and the cause of national degeneration. Their physical, moral and social consequences were disastrous. Infant marriage was responsible for the enormous number of widows. It resulted in puny children and aggravated to a very great degree the dangers of maternity. The infant mortality in Lower Bengal—50 per cent. among children less than a year old—was the highest in the world. The custom, too, was fatal to female education; it arrested mental as well as physical development. The only justification the Hindus could find in their Shastras was that early marriage promoted large families; but this argument was unsound physiologically, and even if the propagation of the race were a work of piety, then the custom of enforced widow-

hood stood condemned at the bar of the Hindu religion. The latter was denounced as an unwarrantable interference with the liberty of the subject, and a prolific source of suffering and crime. Government, it was true, had legalised the re-marriage of widows, but only on the condition that they forfeited any property they had inherited. This, he said, was to put a premium upon unchastity. He had the satisfaction of seeing this flaw in an otherwise just and humane law put right.

The custom of infant marriage was so deeply rooted in the religious and social system that the attempt to eradicate it, except by slow degrees, might well seem hopeless ; and for many years the efforts of the missionaries were directed towards securing as far as possible the mitigation of its consequences. From the earliest days of missionary work in India, the fact that the convert, even of tender age, was as a rule married, had been a cause of serious difficulties. A wife who had been married in infancy to a boy or man who afterwards became a convert—a wife whom perhaps this husband had never even seen—was not allowed to join him after baptism. Yet he was in the eye of the law a married man, and as a Christian forbidden to marry anyone else. Very soon after Mr Macdonald came to India, we find him interviewing Sir Henry S. Maine, in connection with a Bill that was then under consideration, and which became law in 1886. It is known as Act XXI. of 1886, or the Native Converts Marriage Dissolution Act. It provided that Christian converts, if deserted or repudiated by their non-Christian partners, could get release from the marriage tie by instituting a suit before a magistrate, which must extend over at least two years, during which time they must appear in court as parties prosecuting their non-Christian partners. This was welcomed as a relief, and an act of justice, but it soon became apparent that the relief was only partial. The expense of such a prolonged suit was to many Christians prohibitive, and while a man might willingly face the ordeal involved, a girl of modest character and Christian feeling could hardly be expected to do the same.

The Calcutta Decennial Conference in 1882 appointed a Committee, of which Mr Macdonald was Convener, to consider the whole question and take whatever action they might consider necessary. Then public attention was called to the matter by the case of Rukhmabai in Bombay, a case which showed that relief was demanded not for Christian girls alone, but for Hindu girls

as well. Rukhmabai was a Hindu girl, educated in the Free Church Mission School and afterwards as a Zenana pupil. She was clever and accomplished, and the man, Dadaji by name, to whom she had been married in infancy, being repulsive and illiterate, she refused to live with him. He appealed to the law to compel her to do so. The case was carried from court to court till the High Court ordered Rukhmabai either to live with Dadaji as his wife or go to prison for six months. A compromise, however, was then effected. A sum of money, sufficient to buy another wife, was paid to Dadaji. But it was decreed that, according to Hindu law, Rukhmabai must never marry. She went to London to study medicine, took the degree of M.D., and returned to India to take charge of a hospital for women. In 1884 Mr B. B. Malabari of Bombay, an Indian journalist and social reformer, wrote two pamphlets on *Infant Marriage* and *Enforced Widowhood*, in which he appealed to the Government of India to right these wrongs. He received the warm support of missionaries throughout the country. The Calcutta Missionary Conference, after prolonged and heated discussion, formulated its recommendations in three resolutions. The first was that anyone who refused to live with another person to whom he or she had been married, without consent, should not be punishable by law. The second was, that if such a person, having renounced a marriage to which consent had not been given, and which had not been followed by the partners living together, were to marry again, he or she should not be held guilty of bigamy in the eye of the law. The third was, that in section 375 of the Penal Code, the "age of consent" should be raised from ten to thirteen years.

The first two of these resolutions were most vehemently opposed by a number of Bengali Christians. They argued that as marriage itself was an institution of divine ordinance, a marriage celebrated according to Hindu law and custom should be regarded with all the sanctity attached to other marriages; that marriage was also a civil contract, which, like any other legal contract, could not be broken without the consent of both parties; that child marriage was a necessary part of the Hindu joint-family system, the sons' wives being introduced to the family in infancy so that they could be trained up in the ways of the family; and also that it was a safeguard against sin. Dr Macdonald in reply asked if the Hindu girls who were married to idols and became temple prostitutes were

to be held bound by that tie for life? If one of these girls became a Christian, was she to be held still bound to the life of shame to which she had been wedded with due ceremony by Hindu law? Were marriages to the *Shalgram* or to the *tulsi* plant to be held sacred, even after conversion to Christianity? In the Garo Hills of Assam it was a common custom for a man to be married, by one and the same ceremony, to a woman and her infant daughter? If that daughter became a Christian, was she still bound by law to be the wife of her mother's husband? Among the Kulin Brahmins, who could only marry within their own sub-caste, when husbands were scarce, old men, fit for nothing else, often made a profession of matrimony, being entirely supported by the gifts they received, in money or in kind, from their numerous parents-in-law. Authenticated cases were quoted in which old men had in this way married eighty to one hundred and sixty little girls each. They never lived with these wives, but visited them perhaps once or twice a year, according to the extent of their constituencies, to receive payment of their dues, and pass on. Were such marriages sacred and inviolable? Ancient Hindu writers were quoted—especially Narada, second only to Manu as a law-giver—to prove that formerly not only were widows allowed to marry, but that the same liberty was granted to wives whose husbands had lost caste, or disappeared for eight years, or were afflicted with certain diseases.

To the plea that no contract could be honourably dissolved without the consent of both parties, he replied that it did not apply, or should not apply, to contracts not made by the parties themselves, but made for them by others at an age when they were of necessity wholly unconscious of the obligation and unable to understand its nature. The argument on behalf of the joint-family system cut away the ground from under the feet of those apologists for child marriage who said that, although the marriage ceremony was performed in infancy, the wives did not go to live with their husbands till they were grown up. Nor was the joint-family system such an ideal institution that a reform, otherwise good, was to be rejected because it did not conduce to its preservation. Then if the Hindus were unable to safeguard their daughters' morals till they reached a marriageable age, was it not extremely unwise to expose their widows to life-long temptation?

It was pleaded, even by the Bengali Christians, that the Hindus should be left to their own social rules and obligations. Certainly,

said Dr Macdonald, by all means; but do not seek the aid of British courts of justice to *compel* anyone to observe these social customs and obligations or to punish those who ignore them. Again and again, in the course of the discussion, he quoted Max Müller's appeal "that the strong arm of the English law be not rendered infamous by aiding and abetting unnatural atrocities." While the cause of all who had been married without their own consent was pleaded, it was pointed out, and illustrated by real instances not a few, that the law was in a special degree hard upon Christian girls. The husband of a convert to Christianity was free by his own religion, Hindu, Mohammedan, Buddhist or aboriginal, to take another wife or several wives, and could at the same time demand that the Christian wife should also live with him. To do this she regarded as a sin, to refuse to do it was a crime. But a Hindu woman who became a Mohammedan was free to marry again. It was pointed out, too, that a Roman Catholic missionary could celebrate the marriage of a Christian convert to a Christian, although that convert was still nominally married to a non-Christian. He could do so because there was a clause in the Indian Marriage Act legalising marriages which were in accordance with the laws of the Church by which the officiating minister had been ordained. In the Roman Catholic Church these marriages of converts were sanctioned by the special dispensation of the Pope. It should be stated that the accuracy of this interpretation of the Act was disputed by the Government in its correspondence with the missionaries at this time, but it was not questioned that such marriages did take place among the Roman Catholics, and that they had never been declared to be invalid. It is equally clear that if a Protestant missionary celebrated similar marriages he would be liable to transportation.

All this discussion and correspondence ended in nothing. In 1886 the Government of India called for the opinions of its provincial governments on these matters, and consulted many authorities. It came to the unanimous conclusion that the state of affairs brought to light by these representations was much to be deplored; and it sincerely hoped that with the gradual progress of higher ideas, it would eventually be remedied; but in the meantime it did not see its way clear to interfere by means of legislation. It took up the quite defensible position that there was no use making laws that it had not the power of enforcing

by the ordinary machinery at its disposal. It is to be feared that the evil of infant marriage is not growing less. Among a small section of the population, education may have helped to create a healthy opinion on the subject; but, on the other hand, the Census Report of 1901 points out that the well-marked tendency of the lower strata of Hindu society to conformity with the usages of the higher castes, leads to infant marriages becoming increasingly common. The percolation of Brahminical influences throughout the population sums up a good part of India's social history, and the whole Brahminical system works in this direction. In recent years no doubt that influence has to some extent been counterbalanced by the spread of Christian ideas and the progress of education; on the other hand, it has been rendered more pervasive by the improved means of communication and increased facilities of travel. A native paper has recently stated that in Bengal alone there are at present six hundred widows below one year in age.

The question of the "age of consent," to which the third resolution of the Calcutta Missionary Conference referred, was brought to a crisis in the year 1890 by a tragic but not very uncommon incident. In that year a Bengali girl, eleven years of age, Phulmoni Dassi by name, died in Calcutta in consequence of what would in all other civilised countries be described as an outrage on the part of her husband, a man of thirty, called Hari Mohon Moity. He was arrested and tried for culpable homicide. His defence in court was simply to quote the clause in the Penal Code (section 375), which the Missionary Conference had desired to see altered. But he was convicted and sentenced to twelve months' rigorous imprisonment. This led to a public outcry on the part of the Hindus, who complained that it was unjust to punish a man for doing what was not only prescribed by his religion but sanctioned by law. On the other hand, there was a strong feeling of indignation among the European section of the population that it should be possible for anyone to appeal to the British law in defence of such brutality. Not only should the law be altered in the way of removing every shadow of justification for such misdeeds, but they should be made amenable to much heavier punishment than had been meted out in this case. The manifestation of this feeling was so strong, that the Government felt constrained to introduce a Bill, which came to be known as the "Age of Consent Bill," the effect of which was to raise the age in this

clause of section 375 from ten to twelve years. The pity is that the Government did not raise the age to sixteen when they were at it. The opposition could not have been greater than that which was evoked by the proposal to make the more moderate alteration, and the Bill would then have been one worth fighting for. In making this amendment, the Government had all the authority of medical opinion, unanimous and emphatic, at its back. The Calcutta Medical Society, composed chiefly of Bengali practitioners, with one voice recommended that actual marriage should be interdicted under the age of fourteen. Among Dr Macdonald's many contributions to the discussion, was a compilation of a convincing array of expert medical testimony to the same effect, or rather in favour of still further restrictions. The Hindu contention was that their religion left them no option in this matter, that a Hindu husband and wife were bound, under pain of the direst penalties, to begin to live together as soon as the wife reached an age which, according to Hindu law, was regarded as the age of maturity. This, in India, was often before she was twelve years old. But from the medical point of view, it was utterly erroneous to hold that this was an age at which marriage should be allowed.

The opposition to the Bill knew no bounds. Never before, within living memory, had Bengal been so agitated. Crowds of excited Hindus paraded the streets all day and far into the night, yelling at the pitch of their voices, "Our religion is in danger." Those who were still sane enough to argue protested that the Bill was an infringement of the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, by which she pledged her Government to a policy of non-interference with the religions of her Indian subjects. The Government of India replied that it did not feel itself restrained by the terms or the spirit of that Proclamation from interfering in cases where the interests of morality were concerned. A monster meeting of protest was held on the *maidan*, for no public building in Calcutta would accommodate all those who wished to be present. The attendance was estimated at one hundred thousand, and speeches were delivered from twelve platforms. Bands of men, some blowing conch shells, and others shouting *Dohai Moharani dhormo rakhsho Koro* (Have mercy, great Queen, save our religion), went through the mass, who took up and rent the air with the cry. No such public demonstration had ever been seen in Calcutta. When it became apparent that the appeals to the Government of India and to the Secretary

of State were in vain, it was resolved as a last resort to make a supreme effort to move Kali, the patron goddess of Calcutta, to intervene. A *mahapuja*, or whole day of fasting, prayer and sacrifice was proclaimed at Kalighat, the great shrine of this popular deity, in one of the suburbs of Calcutta. Every day her temple runs with the blood of sacrifices, but on this occasion the *puja*, or idolatrous worship, was to be on an unprecedented scale. It was estimated at the time that two hundred thousand rupees (over £13,000) were spent on the ceremony. Three hundred pundits, many of whom had been brought from Benares, led the devotions. One devotee wished to sacrifice himself upon the altar, and was with difficulty restrained from his purpose. Others, like the priests of Baal, cut themselves with knives. Many made their way slowly and laboriously to the temple, prostrating themselves on the ground, then standing at the spot their foreheads had touched and prostrating themselves anew. So they advanced, measuring the whole distance on the earth with their bodies. A printed prayer, that was distributed broadcast, being translated, ran as follows: "In great distress at thy door we have come, Mother, source of all good. Horrified, that is why we raise this cry, O Mother, queen of the universe! What to say? We are about to be undone, Mother, by the words of some outcastes. Intending to do an act of kindness, the Government is destroying our religion. Our hearts shudder through fear. O goddess, save us from this great danger into which we have fallen. We, sons of Hindoo families, who have hitherto forgotten thee, are now crying to thee for help, as thy children, and pray take us up in thy lap. Protect the modesty of our domestic maidens, thou who savest people from shame. Kings make laws, to make their subjects happy, but this law will oppress the poor and helpless. Make this clear to Government, and say, 'Don't make this law.' Forgive us, O goddess. Make Government to understand and to put an end to all this confusion and disorder." Another prayer, in very similar terms, sung as a *Sankirtan*, or sacred service of song, implored the goddess "to protect that priceless treasure, our national religion, which we are about to lose by the royal mandate." The cry was everywhere the same—religion was being destroyed because Hindu husbands were not to be allowed to live with their wives till the latter were twelve years old. *Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*[1] Dr Macdonald says that never in

[1] *Lucretius*, Book I.

his life before had he witnessed such scenes of wild excitement, amounting often to frenzy, and never could he forget them. But Mother Kali made no sign. The *mahapuja* was on March 15th; the Bill became law on the 19th. The Viceroy, Lord Lansdowne, in bringing to a close the discussion in the Supreme Legislative Council, referred to the religious argument against the Bill and the appeal of its opponents to the Queen's Proclamation in words that are worth quoting. "If we can say," he declared, "not only that the observance under discussion is far from being regarded by the majority of those who profess the Hindu religion as essential, but also that its practice is repugnant to common-sense, abhorrent to modern civilisation, debasing to those who adopt it, and detrimental to the physical and moral welfare of the race, we may, I think, consider that we have placed it completely outside the category of those religious customs and observances on behalf of which the Queen's Proclamation may be invoked, and which are deserving of recognition and protection at the hands of the responsible law-givers of British India."

It is hardly necessary to say that Dr Macdonald rejoiced to see the principles he had been advocating for so many years endorsed, in part at least, by the highest authorities in the land, and carried into practice in the teeth of most relentless opposition. Throughout the agitation he did his utmost, by speech and by pen, to help the cause of reform. A paper he read at the Missionary Conference, on the subject under discussion, was printed as a pamphlet, and widely circulated. It was discussed at length in the native papers, and brought down upon him more abuse than anything else he had ever written. It was a very small matter, in comparison, to tell the Hindus that their gods were dead or dying, and that their whole religious and social system was going to pieces. That was purely academic; this was practical. One incident occurred which made it necessary for him to appear in the police court. In connection with a local literary society, of which he was President, a lecture was delivered at the time when the agitation was at its height by Mr Kali Churn Banerjea, in the General Assembly's Institution, on the *Educational Power of Law*. The Chairman was Sir Andrew Scoble, who, as Law Member of Council, was the author and promoter of the obnoxious measure, and was piloting it in its passage through the Legislature. In consequence of this he was for the time intensely unpopular. On this account a disturbance

at the lecture was anticipated, and Dr Macdonald had secured the presence of a body of police to preserve order. The meeting was a crowded one, and from the beginning it was evident there was going to be trouble. When a young Bengali made himself conspicuous by disturbing the proceedings, both the Chairman and Dr Macdonald repeatedly ordered him to be quiet, or to leave the hall. When he persistently refused to do either, Dr Macdonald asked the police to remove him. This they did with perhaps more force than was necessary, and as the youth and his friends resisted vigorously, they carried him to the police office and detained him there over-night. The result was that he prosecuted the police for assault and wrongful restraint, and Dr Macdonald was summoned as a witness for the defence. Upon his testifying that, as far as this meeting was concerned, he, as President of the Society, was in possession of the hall, that he had told the man several times to be quiet or to go out, and that on his continuing to disturb the meeting he had ordered the police to remove him, the magistrate decided that the police had not exceeded their duty or acted illegally, and dismissed the case.

It had been considered necessary to make careful provision in the Bill against its being made a new means of oppression in the hands of the police, that they might not add to their many opportunities for extorting bribes and blackmail by threats of inquisitorial proceedings and false charges. This was done by making it a rule that proceedings under the Act could only be initiated by a magistrate, or in other words, that the offence was to be scheduled not as cognisable but as non-cognisable, so that the police could not arrest without a warrant. The further precaution was taken of inserting a special clause preventing all but District Magistrates from dealing with cases in which husband and wife were concerned, and precluding any police officer below the rank of an inspector from taking part in the investigation when one had been directed by the magistrate. These precautions were a guarantee of the Government's desire to prevent the possibility of the Act being abused, but it is very much to be feared that to a large extent they have prevented it from being enforced. The general impression is that the law is a dead letter, and among many reformers the opinion prevails that a law which forbids marriage at ten, but sanctions it at twelve, is hardly worth enforcing. Dr Macdonald's view of the matter was more hopeful, but then it was his way to be hopeful

about everything. In his paper written for the Madras Decennial Conference he admits that the prosecutions under the Act have been few, and that, as in the case of nearly every form of crime, a great many who are guilty escape punishment. "But on a much larger number," he says, "the Act has had a deterring and consequently a preventive effect, and the child-marriage custom has received a shock which has greatly affected it, and from which it will never recover."

Among some odd scraps among Dr Macdonald's papers there is a note on the policy of Akbar's Government towards the women of Hindustan in the sixteenth century. He states, quoting Sir Herbert Edwardes as his authority, that in this respect the Moghul was far in advance of the British Government. This seems to have been the case. Akbar, who longed to

> "Alchemise old hates into the gold
> Of Love, and make it current,"

by promulgating an eclectic religion that was to embrace all creeds and castes and peoples, was also a wise and humane legislator. He decreed that every widow who showed the least desire not to be burnt on her husband's funeral pyre, should be let go, free and unharmed; that marriage should be interdicted before the age of maturity, and that widows should be allowed to marry. Dr Macdonald's unwearied attempts to remove this stone of stumbling from the path of India's progress, may seem to have borne little fruit, but he lived and died in the confident hope that the dream which Tennyson attributes to Akbar in words quoted at the head of this chapter would in God's good time be realised.

During the course of the agitation over the "Age of Consent" Bill in Bengal, *Punch* published a cartoon by Mr Linley Sambourne, representing an Indian woman cowering before the Shadow of Caste, and clinging to the robes of Britannia, who carries a shield. A poem, entitled *The Shadow and the Shield*, accompanied the picture. Both had evidently been suggested by current events in India. The first verse ran:—

> "Yes, compassion is due to thee, India's young daughter;
> The sound of thy sorrow, thy plaint of despair,
> Have reached England's ears o'er the wide westward water,
> And sympathy stirred, seldom slumbering there."

In the course of the poem there is a reference to Akbar :—

"If Akbar was pitiful, Islam's great sworder,
Shall she of the Aegis be less so than he?
The marriage of widows he sanctioned, his order,
Three centuries since laid the ban on suttee.

"And she, his successor, has rescued already
The widow from fire, and the child from the flood;
For mercy's her impulse, her policy steady
Opposes the creed-thralls whose chrism is blood."

With the closing verse we may appropriately point the moral of the story told in the preceding pages :—

"We dare not be deaf to the voice of the pleader,
For freedom and purity, nature and right;
Let Wisdom, high-throned as controller and leader,
Meet cruelty's steel with the shield of calm might!"

CHAPTER XIV

FOURTH TERM OF SERVICE

"He ardently anticipated glorious results from a Christianised India — a youthful Church with the warmth of the Eastern heart and the quickness of the Eastern mind, drawing its inspiration, not from the stereotyped forms of the West, but directly from the Fountain of Eternal Life and Truth."—*Memoir of Norman Macleod.*

Dr Macdonald returned to Calcutta as one of a large missionary party on board the s.s. *City of Bombay*, in November 1893, to find abundance of work awaiting him.

The Royal Commission on Opium held its sittings that year in Calcutta and elsewhere in India, and he was asked by its Chairman, Lord Brassey, to give evidence before it. It is a well-known fact that his evidence was not on the same lines as that of the great majority of missionaries, both in India and China, and it has always been to the writer at least somewhat of a mystery how so ardent an advocate of total abstinence from alcohol was led to take up the position he did on the opium question. His papers have been searched very carefully for anything that would throw light on the subject, but there is very little to add to what he said before the Commission, which is recorded in its Report.

Asked by the Chairman to give a summary of what he had given utterance to, whether in writing or in speaking, in late years, he said: "Briefly, it is this, that opium-smoking and eating, bad as they are, cannot be compared as to the injury inflicted on the individual or on the race, with that inflicted by alcoholic liquors in Bengal, and still less with that in England; and that if the injury inflicted on the Bengalis demands the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of opium, much more is the prohibition of alcoholic liquors demanded in England and Bengal. My personal knowledge of the evils, both physical and moral, inflicted by both in Bengal and England, leads me unhesitatingly to that conclusion. I do not remember more than one or two who have been ruined

by opium. I have known scores ruined by drink in Calcutta these thirty years, some of them most promising young men, Christian and non-Christian."

Questions were put to him to elicit the fact that in other matters he had been ready enough to take up an attitude hostile to the Government when he felt it to be his duty to do it—a fact of which the reader of the preceding pages does not need to be reminded. He had fought against the Government "tooth and nail," he said, in the matter of the preaching in the public squares, the out-still system, the C.D. Acts, the Vernacular Press Act, and also in connection with their failure to carry into practice the principles of the Education Despatch of 1854.

At the close of his examination-in-chief, he was subjected to what he describes himself in a letter as "a thorough heckling" by Mr H. J. Wilson, M.P., who represented the anti-opium party on the Commission. This cross-examination was not reported in the newspapers.

Mr Wilson asked him, with reference to his views on the evils of alcohol, if he had any remedy to propose. Local Option, he replied. Did he think Local Option would be workable in India, and produce good results? Yes, he did. Would he apply it also to opium? "I am not so well acquainted with the use of opium in the country at large as to say how that would work," was his reply. Asked to state his views as to whether opium was an evil or not, apart from the question of alcohol, he said he certainly considered it an evil, just as tobacco was an evil. It was worse than tobacco and not so bad as alcohol, but somewhere between the two. He admitted that missionaries who preached in the vernacular in other parts of India had greater opportunities than he had of getting information regarding their various districts. He also admitted that he was the author of an anonymous article that appeared in the *Indian Evangelical Review* in April 1881, in which he had said: "The abuse of the drug [opium] seems to me to be attended with even more serious consequences than the abuse of alcohol." He repudiated that opinion now. A description of the physical effects of the drug followed, which he now admitted was exaggerated. He had got it from reading, without confirmation on his own part. Other statements in the article were that "the progress of the evil amongst the lower classes has increased to a frightful extent"; that "still public conscience is dead to its

frightful demoralising effects around us"; that "a Christian Government must face it, and face it with the determination that the matter shall be rectified"; and that "thousands are perishing in India from the use of the drug." He had got the statement about the progress of the evil from a newspaper at the time, but he did not think that the evil had increased since the article was written. He now regarded it as presumption on his part to give an opinion regarding the public conscience of India. He still considered it to be the duty of Government to look thoroughly into the evil, and he supposed it was still true that among the two hundred and eighty millions in India thousands were perishing from the use of the drug.

There are two references to the subject among Dr Macdonald's unpublished papers. In a note referring to the Royal Commission he says: "When called upon to give evidence, I had to give it as the result of my observation these thirty or thirty-five years, that alcohol, largely imported from England and Scotland, had been doing infinitely more injury to the people of Bengal, European and native, than opium, and yet that English reformers had as yet taken no step to put a stop to that more destructive import, no doubt because it was from it that the millionaire brewers and distillers of England and Scotland were making their fortunes.

The other note refers to a discussion on the subject in the Calcutta Missionary Conference in 1891: "There was no diversity of opinion as to the missionary personally having nothing to do with any or all of these drugs, or as to the advice they should give to their people, whether converts, native Christians, or non-Christians. All were to totally abstain. They did differ from the Anti-Opium Society as to the Government of poor heathen India being called upon by Englishmen in England to sacrifice an enormous revenue in the interests of the morality of China, while these same Englishmen would not raise a little finger to demand that rich England should sacrifice some of its own enormous revenue received from the sale and manufacture of intoxicants in the interests of the morality of the people of India."

All this, it seems to the writer, bears a strong family resemblance to that hardy perennial among anti-missionary arguments, that we have no right to send the Gospel abroad so long as there are so many heathen at home. Then the consistency of the position, as described in the last extract, may reasonably be called in question.

Dr Macdonald would have all the people of India to abstain from opium, but apparently he did not object to the Government of India deriving an enormous revenue from the sale of the drug to the Chinese. It has been said that the apologists for the opium trade as a rule base their arguments upon the "one man one vice" theory—that a man should be allowed to poison himself with opium lest he should take to drink—and the evidence we have under review seems to be tinged with the same heresy.

But from first to last, there was a good deal of confusion regarding the issue raised by the Opium Commission. The Anti-Opium Society had not asked for this Commission; they had voted against its appointment. In 1891 a majority of the House of Commons had condemned the Indo-China opium trade as "morally indefensible." In 1893 a motion was brought forward to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the possibility of so reducing the expenditure of the Government of India as to make the revenue derived from that trade unnecessary, and at the same time to consider how much, if any, assistance would be required from the British Exchequer to compensate India for the loss which the suppression of that trade would involve. Mr Gladstone successfully evaded this question by moving for the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the whole subject of the growth and use of opium in India. The resolution defining the scope of the Commission made no reference to the effect of opium and the opium trade upon China, although this was the source of the controversy. The inquiry was thus diverted from the main issue to a minor one, a fact which is nowhere more apparent than in the whole tenor of the Commission's Report. In India, where opium is chiefly eaten in the form of a pill, its use is not regarded by the Commissioners as a very glaring evil, but the habit of smoking opium they unanimously condemn as disreputable and degrading, and they strongly recommend the closing of all opium-smoking shops in India, yet eleven-twelfths of the opium grown in India is exported to China to be smoked. If it is not the cause of widespread demoralisation in China, and if the connection of the Indian Government with the trade is not a serious obstacle to the progress of Christianity in that country, then missionary testimony is of no value. But this Report itself indicates the serious extent of the evil in China. If we estimate the population of that empire as four hundred millions, the official figures regarding the amount of opium

grown and imported, give the consumption per head as 1596 grains against 27 grains in India. The Commission was unpopular in India for two reasons. One was because it threatened a prolific source of easily-collected revenue, paid by the people of China. The other was the unjust proposal of the British Government to saddle India with the whole cost of the Commission. For this, of course, the anti-opium party was in no way responsible; and although the indignant outcry led to only part of the bill being charged to the Indian Treasury, much harm had been done in the meantime.

With Dr Macdonald's plea that the people of India should be protected from the evils of alcohol, no one sympathised more heartily than the members of the anti-opium party. When he was in London, Dr Macdonald had been struck with the fact that while there were philanthropic societies for protecting the native races of Africa against alcohol, no one seemed to think of extending the same protection to the natives of India. In India, however, most of the liquor consumed by the people is not imported but manufactured in the country.

The year 1895 saw the inauguration of a new enterprise in Calcutta with which for the rest of his life Dr Macdonald was very closely associated, and in which he took a special pleasure. This was the College Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association. There had been a Young Men's Christian Association in Calcutta many years before this. In fact it had claimed to be one of the oldest established institutions of the kind outside of England. In 1822, twenty-two years before the first Young Men's Christian Association was organised in London, the Calcutta Christian Juvenile Society was formed, which, in 1850, became a Young Men's Christian Association. The old building which this organisation acquired in 1836 still stands in Bow Bazaar Street, and is said to be one of the oldest Association buildings in existence. This old Association had had a rather chequered and variable career, sometimes exhibiting much activity and at other times languishing for want of men and funds. It had been practically confined to the European and Eurasian community, had no direct connection with missionary work, and had not been much in evidence for about ten years previous to the date we are now dealing with. In 1891 Mr Luther D. Wishard visited Calcutta as representative of the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association of America and the Students' Volunteer Movement. He suggested to the Mis-

sionary Conference that they should ask the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association in New York to send out a man to organise work on a larger scale and more systematic plan than had hitherto been attempted, among young men in Calcutta, European and Indian, Christian and non-Christian. This proposal did not meet with the unanimous approval of the Missionary Conference. Many members expressed the fear that it would mean the introduction of a new denominational agency. Dr Macdonald, on the other hand, entered into the scheme enthusiastically, and he and Bishop Thoburn, after a good deal of discussion, carried a resolution on the lines Mr Wishard had suggested. When Mr J. Campbell White came to Calcutta in 1893 in response to this call, Dr Macdonald at once became one of the Board of Directors of the new Association that was formed. Premises were at first rented in the European quarter of the city, and the successful work begun there has steadily grown in importance and in extent. But it soon became apparent that the Association had a great sphere of usefulness before it among the Bengali student class. This was the work that lay nearest Dr Macdonald's heart, and he rejoiced that this new Association recognised the importance and the opportunities of work which he had been earnestly advocating for many years. Great as the need had been in 1881, it was still greater now. The educated class was steadily growing in numbers, in intelligence, and in influence; yet very little missionary work was being done for them except among the small proportion of them who attended mission colleges. Mr Campbell White resolved to devote himself entirely to the College Branch of the Association work, and he found no more loyal helper than Dr Macdonald, who always showed a willingness to try new methods and adopt fresh ideas that was rare in a missionary of his age and length of service. In 1895 temporary premises were rented in the northern part of the city, and work begun. The need of a large building in the centre of the student quarter was urgently felt as the work progressed. It was Dr Macdonald who first suggested the purchase of a large and handsome building at the corner of College Street and Harrison Road, which the Calcutta Dufferin Fund Committee had recently erected as a Zenana hospital. It had been found that its proximity to the public streets made it unsuitable for this purpose, and it was understood that the Dufferin Fund was willing to sell it for one hundred and fifty thousand rupees (£10,000), which was

less than the cost price. This building seemed to be the very thing the Association wanted, but it had no money to buy it with. Mr Campbell White went off to England and Scotland to raise the necessary funds. Some help was sent from America; Dr Macdonald secured ten thousand rupees from a friend in Scotland who had a special interest in Calcutta;[1] Mr Campbell White's personal appeals met with a liberal response, and in a few months he came back with enough money in hand to secure the property.

The buildings, altered internally to suit their new purpose, were formally opened on 16th July 1897, and have ever since been the scene of varied and fruitful work. Ample proof has been furnished that the Association was wisely guided to this choice of a site. The building, 86 College Street, is next door to the Presidency College, and almost within the shadow of the University Senate House. College Square, which is in the immediate neighbourhood, offers a convenient field for open-air meetings, which is fully taken advantage of. Within a radius of half a mile there are nine colleges with over four thousand students in them, and within a radius of a mile are about fifteen colleges with seven thousand students. Then the site is a conspicuous one, and very accessible, as tramway cars pass the door. The work in connection with this new centre of Christian activity added a new zest to the labours of Dr Macdonald for the rest of his life. As a member of the Committee of Management, his help and his advice were always at the command of the Association, which had learned to appreciate their value. As a rule he lectured every week in the Overtoun Hall, a large hall in the Association Buildings, used for public meetings, and so named after the largest contributor to the purchase of the property; and he also took a regular part in the open-air meetings in College Square.

The following is an extract from a letter to his youngest daughter in Scotland, dated 21st July 1897:—

"The great event of last week was the opening of the new buildings of the Y.M.C.A., of which I must have written you before. I send you a copy of the Report. You should read it not simply because my name occurs in it more than once, but because of the wonderful answers to prayer in connection with the acquisition of the building. The large hall we have called Overtoun Hall, after Lord Overtoun. In it we are to have a large party on Friday,

[1] The late Mr Peter MacKinnon.

30th inst., in honour of the Honourable Kali C. Banerjea, on his election [as a member of the Bengal Legislative Council] by the Calcutta University. Mr Banerjea was my pupil in his second year in College when I arrived in Calcutta in 1862, and since then we have been like two brothers. . . . I trace much resemblance in him to my own brother. He deserves all I can do for him. He is a good man, a great man, an able and profound scholar, and an exceedingly kind, helpful and loving man, and most self-sacrificing. I hope some day you may be able to see him."

1897 was a year long to be remembered in India. It was, in the first place, the year of the most widespread famine of the century. It is to be hoped that the extension of the railway system has made the recurrence of the dreadful scenes of former days impossible, but the very cause which has made famines less intense in any particular district has tended to diffuse their influence over a wider area. An urgent demand for grain in one place now sends up the price in all surrounding regions, and those who have a small stock in hand are tempted by the high prices to export it, without a thought for the future. In previous famines there had been a higher mortality in certain provinces, but the distress had never been so widespread as it was in 1897. Nor was the extent of the suffering and of the loss of life at all adequately realised till long after the famine was over. It was when the census was taken four years later that it became apparent how severely the land had been smitten. In the Central Provinces the population had *decreased* by over 17 per cent. in ten years, being nearly a million less in 1901 than it had been in 1891. In Ajmere, in a much smaller area, the decrease was over 18 per cent., and in Bombay it was nearly 4 per cent. In some of the native states the depopulation had been even more marked. Government, face to face with famine, has to choose between two risks—that of giving relief where it is not necessary, and so causing wholesale pauperisation, and that of withholding it till the need is indisputable and the evil has gone too far to be remediable. That the more cautious policy had in some provinces been carried to an excess in 1897 became only too apparent; but these same districts benefited by the lessons then learned when they were again visited by famine three years later.

Lower Bengal was not seriously affected by the famine, but Calcutta took the lead in organising measures for relief. Dr

Macdonald took an active part in the work of at least four relief committees, whose operations extended to the affected areas in Northern, Western and Central India. At a public meeting held under the presidency of the Viceroy, Lord Elgin, in Calcutta, in the beginning of 1897, a General Relief Committee was nominated. Dr Macdonald was at first the only missionary in all India on the list, but others were added when the Committee was enlarged. Then he was also a member of the local Committee for Bengal. These committees' work mainly consisted in the raising of funds and in allocating them to those who were engaged in the work of actual relief. He was also a member of the Committee charged with the distribution of a shipload of Indian corn despatched in the whale-back *Everest* by the Editor of the New York *Christian Herald*, and also of Lord Radstock's Committee for the administration of famine relief through the agency of missionaries.

Another calamity of this year was the earthquake of 12th June. This disturbance was officially described, in the Report of the Director of the Geological Survey of India, as "a cataclysm which rivalled the classic earthquake of Lisbon in violence and extent." The centre of the shock was in Assam, but it extended over an area 1500 miles in length and 1000 in width, thus surpassing all previous phenomena of this kind in its superficial range. Two tremors travelled to Edinburgh and were recorded in the Observatory there, one taking fourteen minutes and the other eighty-eight minutes in transmission. The movement was a to-and-fro one, estimated at Shillong as seven inches in range, repeated sixty times a minute, and there the shock lasted at least five minutes. The walls of buildings were not overthrown bodily, but were shaken to pieces till the roofs collapsed. Only strongly braced or very flexible structures could resist such a strain. At some places in Assam heaps of road-metal were scattered out in layers a few inches thick, whole villages were hurled down the sides of mountains, roads disappeared, railways were twisted out of shape and rivers changed their course. In Calcutta the damage done was very extensive, and the rains that were just setting in greatly aggravated the discomfort of those whose houses were no longer weather-proof. Dr and Mrs Macdonald were living in the Zenana Mission House at 18 Duff Street, in order to allow the Zenana missionaries to take a holiday. Fortunately the shock occurred about five o'clock in the afternoon, when most people were outside.

The Macdonalds were entertaining some friends in the garden of 2 Cornwallis Square, Dr Duff's old home, at the time and escaped unhurt, but the house was so shattered that it had to be pulled down. The buildings in Beadon Street were injured only to a very slight extent, and were still habitable.

Then there was not only war on the north-west frontier, involving the most extensive military operations that India had seen since the Mutiny; and an invasion of plague in Bombay, that has since grown to larger dimensions than the most pessimistic then anticipated. There was serious rioting, too, in the streets of Calcutta. This occurred also in June, a few weeks after the earthquake. A Hindu had purchased a piece of land in Shambazar, a street in the north of the city, near the mission. Among the buildings on it was a small mosque, which the new Hindu proprietor wished to demolish to make room for other edifices. The Mohammedans were indignant, and appealed to the High Court for an interdict. This was refused. Excitement now became intense, and when workmen proceeded with the demolition of the mosque under the protection of the police, the Mohammedans attacked them. The police were brought in force, the mob became more aggressive, and the police were compelled to fire, killing some of the rioters. This led to something like a general rising among the low-class Mohammedans, always an unruly and hot-blooded community. For some unexplained reason their fury was directed against the Europeans, and natives who dressed in European style. On the evening of the 30th June Dr and Mrs Macdonald attended a meeting of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in Wellesley Square Free Church. Rioting had been going on during the day, and there was much excitement in the city. On this account, in driving home they thought it better not to take the direct route along Wellesley, College and Cornwallis Streets, all crowded thoroughfares, but to take the more circuitous but quieter way by Circular Road. As it was a hot night they let down the venetians in their hired conveyance, and consequently everyone could see that the occupants were Europeans. When they were about half-way home, a brickbat thrown into the carriage struck Dr Macdonald on the chin, and soon after another struck Mrs Macdonald on the arm, inflicting a wound which bled profusely. A shower of brickbats came down on the roof of the vehicle, and several more found their way inside. Dr Macdonald was struck several times, but not seriously hurt.

Fortunately the driver, although a Mohammedan, was not in league with the rioters. He whipped up the horses, and soon left the yelling mob behind. They got home about eleven at night, Mrs Macdonald faint from loss of blood. Her wound was still bleeding freely, but on examination it was found to be superficial and soon healed up. The matter was reported in the papers, and Lord Elgin, the Viceroy, on hearing of it wrote a letter of sympathy. The *Times* correspondent in Calcutta mentioned this in a cablegram, the publication of which kept their friends at home in a good deal of anxiety until they received particulars by the mail. The majority of the servant class in Calcutta are Mohammedans, and if at any time of religious excitement they were to make common cause with their fellow-Moslems on the streets, the position of the European community would be one of considerable danger. The Macdonalds' servants remained quite loyal to them throughout, and did their utmost to prevent them from exposing themselves to further risk.

In the earlier part of this year the Rev. Dr John Henry Barrows came to India as the first Haskell Lecturer on Comparative Religion. Some of Dr Macdonald's fellow-missionaries had had some misgivings when this lectureship was instituted, partly as the result of the "Parliament of Religions" at Chicago; they doubted if lectures on the lines indicated would be of much value from the missionary point of view. Dr Macdonald had no misgivings; Christianity had nothing to fear from any branch of knowledge, and least of all from religious knowledge. He gave a hearty welcome to the proposal, and an equally hearty welcome to the lecturer, and did all in his power to help him. The volume which contains Dr Barrows' lectures, published under the title *The Christian Conquest of Asia*, bears the following inscription:—

"To the
Rev. K. S. MACDONALD, D.D.,
of Calcutta,
the experienced missionary, trusted counsellor,
broad-minded Christian and faithful friend,
I dedicate this volume with happy
and grateful memories of India."

About the close of the year Dr Macdonald paid a visit to his second son Kenneth, who was serving as an officer in the police in

Burmah. There he gathered fresh materials for a series of lectures on *Buddha and Buddhism, living and dead*, which he was delivering in Overtoun Hall.

Calcutta had hardly recovered from the alarm caused by the earthquake and the riots, when it was brought face to face with the plague. The appearance of this historic pest in Bombay in the cold season of 1896-97 has already been mentioned. It began to make its way steadily over India, and broke out in Calcutta early in 1898. There was at once a general stampede from the city, from fear not of the plague itself, but of the measures which the authorities would take to combat it. But the panic was allayed when Sir John Woodburn, the Lieutenant-Governor, who had stood for some hours at one of the principal exits from the city, and watched the people pouring out in a dense, countless but continuous throng, assured the people that the local Government would be satisfied with less drastic measures than had been considered necessary elsewhere. The municipal ward in which Dr Macdonald lived, was one of the largest in the city, with sixty thousand inhabitants. He presided at a meeting at which their representatives expressed their confidence in the Government, and declared their determination to carry out all such measures as might be considered desirable. Volunteers were called for by Government, to undertake a house-to-house visitation of the whole city, partly to inspect and report on its sanitary condition and the prevalence of the plague, but chiefly to advise the residents to do their utmost by cleanliness and ventilation to keep out the scourge. Dr Macdonald was among the first to offer himself, and entered into the work with much zeal, till a bad attack of malarial fever compelled him to desist. From this illness he did not recover till he got leave and went to Scotland in the following spring. He says he did not find the insanitary condition of the houses as bad as he expected, and was quite unsuccessful in detecting cases of plague.

There had been no intermission during all this time of public excitement in his evangelistic work. In connection with the revival of Hinduism there had been an amazing amount of literary activity. Elaborate works on Hinduism, such as the *Life and Teaching of Krishna*, in three volumes; *Lord Gauranga* (or Chaitanya, an incarnation of Krishna), also in three bulky volumes; *Hindu Theism*; the *Sankhya Philosophy*; Swami Vivekananda's *Raja Yoga*, and *Vedanta Philosophy*, were attracting much attention.

Dr Macdonald carried on an active campaign in opposition to this movement, by means of special lectures, tracts, newspaper and magazine articles, as well as by his usual addresses in Beadon Square, where rival meetings were organised in the interests of Neo-Hinduism. Two baptisms about this time were an encouragement to persevere. One was that of a graduate of Duff College; the other convert was a barrister in the High Court, whose baptism took place in Scotland.

On account of the illness that has been referred to, Dr Macdonald was advised by his doctors to apply for furlough in 1899. He did so, and it was granted from the spring of that year. On the occasion of each of his previous furloughs he had been the object of many demonstrations of esteem and affection, and the recipient of many grateful addresses. This expression of admiration and goodwill gathered momentum with the years, till on this the last occasion of his leaving Calcutta before his final home-going four years later, it was an almost overwhelming force. At a farewell meeting in the Overtoun Hall, his portrait was unveiled as a permanent recognition of his many services to the Y.M.C.A. Resolutions were passed by the Missionary Conference, the Bible and Tract Societies, the Pension Fund, and other religious and philanthropic societies. In an address, presented in a silver casket, the Bengali church thanked him warmly for "the love and sympathy, the counsel and assistance" which, in joy or in sorrow, they had never sought from him in vain. Among many other gatherings held to do him honour, and bid him and Mrs Macdonald God-speed, one was organised by Miss Bose, M.A., the Principal of Bethune College for Girls. One of the speakers there, the Hon. Ashutosh Mukerjea, the University member of the Bengal Legislative Council (in succession to Mr Kali Churn Banerjea) and Tagore Law Lecturer, reminded his audience of one phase of Dr Macdonald's character which others had almost forgotten. "I came here this evening," he said, "to bear silent testimony to the high regard and admiration we all feel for Dr Macdonald. That regard and admiration began, in my case, when I was a lad at school, and you may be surprised to hear it was admiration for him in a capacity in which none of you have known him, I mean in his capacity as a mathematician. If my honourable friend Mr Justice Banerjea had been present here this evening, he might have told you that as a candidate at the M.A. degree examination he was

examined by Dr Macdonald in mathematics. But I must frankly tell you that although I admired his work as a mathematician, I was afraid of him as an examiner." It may be added that Dr Mukerjea, although by profession a lawyer (he has recently been raised to the bench), is well known as a very accomplished mathematician.

A curiosity among these farewell addresses is one from a learned Bengali friend, a Sanskrit pundit, who published it in pamphlet form. On the cover his own titles and appointments are displayed under his name in an inverted pyramid of nineteen lines. Among the titles he confers on Dr Macdonald are, "Life of my Life," "Bone of my Bone," "The Cream of the World." "You were the life and soul of the Duff College," he says, "where I sat at your feet as a child at the feet of his parents, for a good many years, and picked up your mighty brain, and also served under your nose in that very Institution as an Anglo-Sanskrit teacher. The financial position of the College much improved in your time. You were the polestar for our guidance and the defender of our name and fame, and my friend, philosopher and guide (my Mentor)." "Your endeared name has become a household word, and it will go down to our posterity, and will be written in letters of gold on the tablet of our heart. Your name is an ever-flowing fountain of ecstasy, as honey in the mouth, melody in the ear, and joy in the heart. K. S. Macdonald is not a name, but is Power. You were the most interesting religious teacher in the entire Orient for a good many years, the Solon of your country. Every fresh arrival from different parts of the world used to pay you a pilgrim visit during your long residence in Calcutta." "If there is any man in our country who for the whole twenty-four hours of the day thinks of the bettering of the lot of our people, that man is the erudite Dr Macdonald, who towered like a colossus among his contemporaries." "You are a great thunderer, who roused the conscience of the dormant nations from the sleep of ages, and opened their eyes at the sense of their duty by inaugurating a great movement in the cause of religious evangelisation." "No European interested me as much as you did. But, alas! Calcutta without you would be like Hamlet without its ghost." "You might sit as a model for some Oriental saint on the threshold of the highest beatitude." There is much more to the same effect too much to quote, but another sentence may be given for the sake of the comfort it brings to the writer of these pages: "Should the country

ever awaken to a sense of its duty, then the best form of honouring your memory would be the mausoleum of an elaborate biography, reading an enduring lesson to a different posterity. It may be late in the day, but it is better late than never."

Before leaving Calcutta Dr Macdonald felt it to be his duty to sever his formal connection with the European congregation at Wellesley Square, by resigning his eldership. He wished, if spared to return, to identify himself more closely than ever with the Bengali church at the other end of the city. His resignation was accepted, "reluctantly and with great regret," and with sincere gratitude for the help he had given to the church in many ways during the thirty-seven years of his membership.

Principal Fairbairn of Mansfield College, Oxford, was the second Haskell Lecturer. During his visit in 1898-99, Dr Macdonald was in poor health; but Dr Fairbairn saw enough of him and of his work to be deeply impressed by both. In his address to the General Assembly in Edinburgh, in May 1899, he spoke of him as "distinguished by that fine understanding that comes from love of his people and by Celtic fidelity to the faith he preached, and to the Church by which he was sent."

During his furlough Dr Macdonald was asked to read a paper on Literary Workers in the Mission Field at the Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York, in the summer of 1900, but his health did not permit him to undertake the journey across the Atlantic again. He found his most congenial work at home, as in former years, in pleading the cause of missions among his fellow-countrymen, in their own tongue. He was pleased to find that after thirty-eight years in the East his Gaelic was still understood and appreciated. After he had visited many of the congregations in Skye, assisting sometimes at communions as well as preaching on Missions, in most cases in Gaelic, the Rev. Norman Macleod of Portree wrote to him as follows:—

"No one that has visited the Presbytery has aroused such deep interest in India and missions there as you have done. Here and elsewhere you have given the most graphic and instructive picture of the present spiritual condition of India the people have ever heard. Good will result, and also, permit me to say, lasting personal attachment to yourself as the Gaelic-speaking representative of the Church abroad. Long may you be spared for the work of God, to which you have devoted your life."

LETTERS.

To his brother.

"CALCUTTA, *26th Dec.* 1893.

"I have nothing special to report of our voyage. It was on the whole a very happy one—very congenial fellow-passengers. On our arrival we had a most hearty welcome from all; and some special meetings were got up to welcome us—resolutions and addresses *galore*; and any amount of work awaiting us, to take up as new or to resume the old. We have had very successful meetings in Beadon Square, and the Calcutta Missionary Conference at once appointed me to all the sub-committees, and nominated me to be their representative on the Government Central Text-Book Committee. Then the Royal Opium Commission summoned me to give evidence before it, and I could not well refuse, although I knew that I would get thoroughly abused by many good people for stating what I did. I had, however, to state the truth as I knew it. . . . What makes the matter look somewhat suspicious is, that my friends of the Faculty of Arts of the University elected me as their representative to the Syndicate in the place of the Director of Public Instruction, resigned. I have no doubt the anti-opium people will say that this high honour was given me because of my evidence on the Government side in the matter of opium. Yet the fact is that I was elected by the Brahmo, Independent and Missionary parties *against* the *Government* or *official* party, who voted solid against me and in favour of their own nominee, Mr P., late Principal of the Presidency College."

[The following is from a fragment of a letter, evidently written in 1895. A lecture by Principal Miller of Madras, on the place of Hinduism in the history of the world, pointing out the contribution it had made to human thought by emphasising the omnipresence of God, and the solidarity of mankind, had been followed by a good deal of discussion, both in India and Scotland. The letter is to Dr Macdonald's brother.]

"You will be somewhat astonished to learn that I have taken up the cudgels in his [*i.e.* Dr Miller's] defence. But that was because he was so viciously attacked. He and I look upon, and have

written concerning, Hinduism in very different ways; yet our views are not inconsistent with one another. I dwell on the badness of Hinduism, and I am quite sure that Miller would agree with it all—only he would say, what's the use? He dwells on the good points, and he thinks he does greater good to Christianity by so doing, and I am not very sure but that he is right after all. Love and sympathy act more powerfully than abuse and scolding. What about the way to win Roman Catholics? A stray copy of the *Bulwark* (which I had not seen for years) came into my hands the other day, and I was greatly pleased to see John's [his nephew's] name among the prize winners of the Reformation Society's lectures delivered by Professor Orr.

"I enclose a copy of M.'s Report of our Rescue Home for last year. There have come before her most interesting and most sad cases in connection with it. She is just now gone to the Dufferin Hospital to look after a Hindu woman there. . . .

"My *Barlaam and Joasaph* at long last is nearly out. . . . I hope you got and liked my April number of the *Review*. You see that you are in it as a Scotch critic on Dr M. of St Andrews. I got your criticism in pencil in the *Thinker*. . . . The thermometer on my table says 98°. . . . *P.S.*—On looking again at the thermometer I see it is now over 100°."

"Calcutta, 27*th Jan.* 1898.

"The paper which has made the greatest stir here of all papers written by me is my paper on the *Decline of Hinduism*. Of all papers it was got up in the greatest hurry, and with least preparation, for our Missionary Conference at the eleventh hour, to supply the place of a lady who had disappointed us. I have abundance of material for another on the same subject. . . . I am now the senior missionary of our Church, but I feel age creeping over me, and that I am not able for the effort and fatigue of mind or body that I once was. And yet I am wonderfully strong and well for one who is now about thirty-six years in the hot, steamy, sweltering plains of Bengal, and I feel that I ought to be most thankful to God for all He has done for me and mine. . . . We had a magnificent meeting in the Overtoun Hall last night on Temperance and Purity, Lord Kinnaird presiding. As I had to be there, and also to preside at an open-air meeting immediately before the Overtoun

Hall one, I could not go to the marriage of a young couple that I am much interested in, so I am off just now to the 'marriage feast,' and you must excuse this short note."

"CALCUTTA, *2nd Jan.* 1899.

"Happy New Year to you all from us here. With this New Year we are brought nearer you by the penny postage reaching us here, so as to take away all excuse as far as postage is concerned for infrequent correspondence. I do not suppose, however, that the 2½d. affected its frequency as far as we are concerned. . . . We have had great excitement connected with the departure of Lord and Lady Elgin (who presented me with their photos and autographs written on them) and the arrival of our new Viceroy, Lord Curzon. . . . No. 98 of the *Review* I send you by to-day's mail. When No. 99 is out, completing vol. 25, my connection with it ceases. I shall continue to contribute to it as I have opportunity. . . . My work is going on as usual; within the last two days I gave two addresses on Temperance, had my service as usual in Beadon Square, and shall have the service in the Mission Church next Sunday in addition to Beadon Square, besides the regular preparation of English tracts for distribution. So that, although my health is anything but satisfactory, I am not by any means laid aside from work. I feel at present better than I did for many months, but I fear the hot weather."

"77 LEAMINGTON PLACE,
EDINBURGH, *6th Dec.* '99.

"We had by this week's mail a letter from Bessie from Poona. She was hard at work, alike in acquiring the language and in healing the sick in hospital. The more direct evangelistic work she will not undertake till she has got some command of the vernacular. . . . Have you read *The Autobiography of a Highland Minister*? The minister is a Mr (or Dr) Taylor, an uncle of Mr Taylor Innes, and I think a brother of Dr Ross Taylor of Thurso. Much of the Autobiography was written in Tain. If you would like to read it and have it in your library, I shall be glad to present it to you after I have read it. I have gone in (for the last week or two) for the reading of autobiographies. I have read Dr Joseph Parker's, some

of Boston's, as edited by Mr Morrison, our old teacher's son, some of our old Professor's, or rather Principal Cunningham's biography, as written by Principal Rainy and Mr Mackenzie, and intend to finish Taylor and more of Boston's. The result is that I am half-inclined to write this winter, if not an autobiography, at least reminiscences of my life, more especially of my missionary life. What say you? I shall, of course, submit my MS. to you for your criticism, before it is copied out clean. I do not, of course, intend to print it, but it will be helpful in giving missionary addresses during my life-time, should I be spared to give any or many. I was greatly interested in Dr Parker's, and he is still living. Have you any autobiography in your library which you would recommend me to read?"

CHAPTER XV

UNIVERSITY AND PUBLIC LIFE

"Ring out a slowly dying cause,
The ancient forms of party strife;
Ring in the nobler modes of life,
With sweeter manners, purer laws."

—TENNYSON.

BEFORE proceeding to the story of the last term of Dr Macdonald's service in Calcutta, it may be convenient, at this stage, to devote two or three chapters to his public life, his literary work and his personal character.

Dr Macdonald had been an evangelist while teaching in College, and he continued to be an educationalist after leaving it. The Calcutta University has been a good deal modified, in common with all the Indian universities, by the Universities Act of 1904, but in Dr Macdonald's day it consisted of a Chancellor, a Vice-Chancellor, and some two hundred Fellows, who, with the Vice-Chancellor, constituted the Senate. From the members of the Senate ten men were elected every year to form an executive committee known as the Syndicate. The Vice-Chancellor presided at the meetings both of Senate and Syndicate. Calcutta is the largest university in India, and it enjoys the further distinction that the Viceroy is, *ex officio*, its Chancellor.

Dr Macdonald's appointment to a Fellowship in the University in 1880 has already been recorded. He held many other academic posts as well. He was Chairman of the very select body known as the University Board of Accounts, which consisted of only three members, including the Chairman. Its duties were to pass the annual accounts for audit at the close of the year, to prepare the annual budget at the beginning of the year, and to act generally as advisers to the University in financial matters. He was also a member of the Faculty of Arts, and in 1893 he was elected by that Faculty to represent it on the Syndicate, in succession to the

Director of Public Instruction, who had resigned. He was also President of the Board of Studies in English, and a member of two other Boards of Study as well, those of Philosophy and History. He was also a member of the Library Committee, and of the Executive Committee of the University Institute. So many appointments made a considerable demand upon his time, but he did not grudge it. He always regarded his University work as of the utmost importance, on account of the influence it gave him over the leaders of education in the Bengali community, and the many opportunities it afforded him of infusing a Christian element into the work of the University. From time to time the proposal to organise a Christian university for India, a university for Christian students, with a curriculum on Christian lines, and with only Christian colleges affiliated to it, was discussed among missionaries and others interested in the progress of Christianity in India. It was Sir Charles Bernard who first submitted a definite scheme on these lines. Dr Macdonald and others who had much actual experience of higher educational work, were not as a rule enthusiastically in favour of this idea. Under present circumstances, they feared, the creation of such a university—supposing that to be possible—would defeat the very object it was meant to accomplish. It would lead to the withdrawal of non-Christian students from Christian colleges, and to the effacement of the missionary element in the control over general education now exercised by the universities. But apart from other objections the plan in the meantime was impracticable, and the more practicable it became the less necessary would it be. When the Christian community was large enough and strong enough to have a university of its own, it would be a very powerful factor in influencing the whole character of University education.

One of the first duties which fell to Dr Macdonald after his appointment to the Fellowship, was the congenial one of fighting for the retention of Butler and Paley in the honour subjects for the examination in philosophy for the M.A. degree. The subject as prescribed was "Revealed Religion, as in Butler's *Analogy* and Paley's *Evidences*." It was proposed to delete the reference to these works, making simply "Revealed Religion" the subject. To this Dr Macdonald strongly objected; it amounted practically, he said, to the elimination of Christianity (which the proposers did not contemplate), for these were the only Christian books prescribed,

and if they were withdrawn both Hindus and Mohammedans might interpret "revealed religion" as applicable to their own systems respectively. In the Faculty of Arts the case was lost, but in the Senate Dr Macdonald and others secured the reversal of this decision and the restoration of Butler and Paley to their former place.

Occasionally differences of a more exciting and personal kind disturbed the calm and ruffled the dignity that we associate with academic life. Perhaps the most serious of these, in Dr Macdonald's time, was a warm dispute in 1890 in connection with the Ripon College, a large and popular independent institution which was affiliated to the University and of which Mr Surendra Nath Banerjea was proprietor. A short time before this a rule had been passed that a student must be present at 66 per cent. of any course of lectures in order to receive a certificate of attendance qualifying him to appear at a university examination. Hitherto the rule had said 75 per cent., but it had seldom if ever been enforced, and when the percentage was reduced it was understood that discipline was to be more strictly insisted on. First the Principal of one native college complained that when he tried to enforce this rule he just emptied his classrooms, the students going off to other native colleges where they knew the regulation was still a dead letter. Inquiries were made, and it came to light that in the Ripon College the registers were kept with culpable laxity, the very convenient plan being followed of allowing the students to mark their own attendances. The University authorities took a very serious view of this case, and recommended the Viceroy, in whom alone the necessary power was invested, to disaffiliate the law department of Ripon College from October 1890 to May 1891. The effect of this would be to disqualify it from sending up students to the University examinations for two sessions. It was estimated that this would involve a pecuniary loss of about twenty thousand rupees (over £1300) to the Ripon College. Many members of the Senate felt that the Syndicate had acted with undue severity in making this recommendation, and among these was Dr Macdonald. A requisition, bearing eighteen signatures—Dr Macdonald's the only European name among them—was presented to the Vice-Chancellor, Justice Guru Dass Banerjea, asking him to convene a special meeting of the Senate to consider the action of the Syndicate, and in the meantime to advise the Viceroy to delay

execution of the Syndicate's recommendation until the Senate had an opportunity of expressing its opinion. The meeting was convened, and proved a stormy one. No attempt was made to deny or extenuate the offence, but it was urged that the punishment proposed was excessive. No one charged Surendra Nath Banerjea with personal complicity in the irregularities, and upon their being brought to his notice he had at once dismissed the Principal and the clerks who were responsible for them, and taken measures to prevent their repetition. It was pointed out, too, that ten years before a very grave irregularity had been detected in the Government's own college at Krishnagar. A student had been anxious to qualify himself for a law examination by attending law lectures in this college two days a week. But he had other engagements on the Tuesdays and Fridays, when these lectures were delivered. So the law lecturer, who was a very accommodating gentleman, arranged with this student that he should call on him at his, the lecturer's, house on Saturdays and Sundays, and have a little talk with him. Then the professor would mark him down as having been present at the lectures on Tuesdays and Fridays. In this case the University had considered that justice was satisfied by disqualifying the student from appearing at the examination and asking the professor to resign. Dr Macdonald pleaded that justice should be even-handed, that to let off a Government college with a nominal punishment and to visit a similar offence on a native college with the utmost rigour, was to encourage neither discipline nor morality. The University authorities' own hands should be clean in this matter before they made such a recommendation to the Viceroy. He held that by their own culpable neglect they encouraged such offences. They never visited the affiliated colleges or examined their registers. They did not even prescribe rules as to the way in which the registers should be kept. They had no guarantee that the irregularities for which the Ripon College was to be so severely punished were not practised in all the colleges, including the Government colleges. Dr Macdonald's speech proceeded on these lines till he was called to order. Some of the Europeans' speeches defending the action of the Syndicate were equally emphatic. In the end a resolution, moved by Mr Monmohun Ghose, recommending the disaffiliation of the law classes should not be carried into effect in the meantime, and that "the debate be adjourned for three months in order to see whether the pro-

prietor of the Ripon College will act in such a manner as to justify the University in allowing it to continue its connection therewith," was carried by thirty-eight votes to thirty-five. As nothing more was heard about the case, after the correspondence in the newspapers that followed the meeting of Senate had died down, it may be inferred that the proposed disaffiliation was not carried out. Dr Macdonald was appointed a Visitor to the College in acknowledgment of his services.

Like many other teachers in the Calcutta colleges, Dr Macdonald took his share in the work of examining for the University degrees. After leaving the Free Church Institution, almost to the end of his life he continued to hold various appointments of this kind. In 1900, on his return from his last furlough, he took the examinership in English for the M.A. But the correction of the papers, which always entailed a large amount of drudgery, proved that year, when his health was beginning to fail, an almost intolerable burden. He got through them within the prescribed time with difficulty, but resolved not to take another examinership.

The following extracts from two letters to his youngest daughter, who was at that time studying medicine in Edinburgh, throw some light on the sorrows of an examiner. They were written in February and March 1897 :—

" My present trouble, which gives me a good deal of anxiety, is the prospect of too large a percentage of the candidates who have gone in for the matriculation examination passing, while not fit to profit by the college lectures. There are about 6000 candidates, and we generally pass only about forty per cent., or up to fifty exceptionally ; but this year it looks as if we would pass some seventy or eighty per cent. As Head Examiner (for the Entrance or Matriculation Examination) I have sixteen other examiners working under me, and my last instruction to them was to be very strict— not to pass unmarked a single mistake. You would scarcely fancy your old father to be so severe It was, however, his leniency in setting the papers which has necessitated it. . . . I am collecting for the Famine Relief Fund, as they have put me on both the India and the Bengal General Committees. But we missionaries would like to collect funds to be disbursed by missionaries in the famine districts, as we have greater faith in its being properly done in this way, rather than in the other."

"What we complain of here is heat, fire and sun, illustrated at great length in the pamphlet I send you on Agni, the Aryan god of fire. On the principle that the ancient Nature worshippers propitiated what they feared, what you should propitiate is cold, frost and snow, and the east wind, and you do so by eating well and clothing warmly. However, our religion is not one of *fear*, but of *love*, which is every way better and more powerful, and which will successfully fight both heat and cold and also ignorance, which that of fear did not. Well, I am in the middle of the battle with ignorance. If you were only to see our two bedrooms on the third storey you would open widely your two big eyes at the sight—beds and tables and couches filled with examination papers, as many as 12,000 in all will be there by Tuesday next, out of which I have to pick at random five per cent. and examine, with the view of checking sixteen examiners who work under me, and seeing that they work uniformly. This is in addition to all my ordinary work. But you will be disposed to say that it is scarcely mission work. Well, at any rate, it is fighting against ignorance and superstition, two of the greatest enemies Christianity has in Bengal; and it gives me an influence and standing among the many thousands of young men in Bengal whom I am trying to win for Christ. In all my work I think of my dearest B., who is hard at work preparing for her examination with the view of fighting with disease and ignorance and superstition, and thus also to win for Jesus."

To a man with a sense of the ludicrous there was always some alleviation to be found, and it was sorely needed, in culling choice phrases and curious blunders from the mass of papers. Those which we find noted down by Dr Macdonald are all from one batch of papers —the M.A. in English for 1900—and are comparatively commonplace and uninteresting, for a great deal of weeding out has taken place before the student reaches that stage. One student, evidently not foreseeing the profession of his examiner, wrote that "Thackeray's moralizings smell like the hackneyed preachings of paid pedantic clergyman in a white tie." Another remarked that "Burns could not, far away in the interior, obtain much in the shape of literature." Another wrote of the same poet, that "he was compelled to accept the comptrollership of gins and other wines in the Scotch metropolis." He records one inscription on a paper of a kind which had been much commoner in the earlier days of his examinerships. "O Radha, Krishna, help me!" wrote one despairing

candidate for the M.A. degree. Radha was the mistress of the god Krishna.

In connection with the two great Education Commissions, Lord Ripon's in 1882, and Lord Curzon's University Commission twenty years later, Dr Macdonald was asked to give evidence. Before the former, he pled for a more generous application of the principles enunciated in the Educational Despatch of 1854—the encouragement of higher education by liberal grants to affiliated colleges and high schools, rather than by institutions under the immediate control of the Government.

Dr Macdonald's interest in education in India was by no means confined to that department of it in which he himself had laboured. Every effort to provide schools with a first-class scholastic equipment and of a distinctly religious character, for the domiciled community of Eurasians and country-born Europeans, found in him a willing helper. He was a member of the Committee of the Calcutta Christian Schools Society, whose aim it was to organise such schools "of an evangelical character," so that parents who desired to give their children a good education might not be compelled to hand them over to the Jesuits or the Ritualists. The Calcutta Boys' and Girls' Schools, and a Girls' School in Darjeeling, were founded by this Society. He had also a good deal to do at one time with the Bruce Institution, an endowment for providing education, with board, for Eurasian girls. Dr Macdonald and many others were of the opinion that the wish of the founders was that the girls should be educated only in the schools connected with the above Society. The High Court, however, gave a different interpretation, and grants are made to Roman Catholic and Anglican schools as well.

In the early days of the Free Church Mission, the connection between it and the Doveton College was very intimate. Dr Duff took an active interest in this school, and more than once procured teachers for it from Scotland. When at the Disruption in 1843, the Free Church congregation had no place to worship in, they met for sometime in the hall of the Doveton College. Dr Macdonald's first dealings with this Institution go back to an early date, when he was made an examiner. Later, when it was decided to elect five ministers of different denominations to the Board of Directors, he was chosen to represent the Free Church. He says this arrangement came to an end because these ministers supported the teachers in enforcing discipline, and this was resented by the

parents of the pupils. In fact, prosecutions of the teachers in the police court were not an uncommon occurrence. Although laymen replaced the ministers on the Board, Dr Macdonald was offered the Honorary Principalship, with free quarters, but declined it. Then a large endowment from a Roman Catholic was accepted, along with the condition that there should be no clergymen on the directorate, and missionaries ceased to have anything to do with the management of the College. Of the Deaf and Dumb Institution Dr Macdonald was a Director, and he was also a member of the Building Committee. During the last few years of his life especially, he took a very great interest and pleasure in the progress of this Charity.

Very closely akin to this strictly educational work were Dr Macdonald's long-continued labours in connection with the production of good healthy literature for schools and colleges. Dr Duff on coming to Calcutta, had very soon discovered the need of agencies for this object. He found that the books used in the vernacular schools were not only of an idolatrous but of a grossly indecent character, so much so that those who undertook to investigate the matter reported that in many cases even the titles of the books were unfit for publication. Several societies were formed with the purpose of reforming this discreditable state of affairs. One was the Calcutta Christian School Book Society, afterwards merged in the Christian Literature Society. With this Society Dr Macdonald was intimately associated from first to last. Another was the School Book and Useful Literature Society. When this became a Government institution, Dr Macdonald was appointed a life-member in recognition of the services he had already rendered. Still more important was his work on the Bengal Central Text-Book Committee, instituted by the Bengal Government in 1875. In 1889 Dr Macdonald was appointed one of the members, and he continued to serve to the end of his life. It was the duty of this Committee not to prepare, publish or circulate books, but to examine all the books that were submitted to it, and to place those of which it approved on the authorised list of books recognised by Government for use in schools or colleges that received Government grants. Any books that were not on this list were, as far as those schools and colleges were concerned, on an *index expurgatorius*. This appointment was no sinecure. Dr Macdonald notes that in one year 261 books were submitted. Of these 90

were passed and 151 rejected. The remainder were either remanded for revision, or held over for further consideration. A book was sometimes the subject of prolonged debate. *Sita Charitra*, for instance, the Life of Sita, the wife of Ram, the most popular of goddesses, was submitted to the Committee for approval as a school book. Dr Macdonald objected to its being sanctioned, as he said that if this were done it would be a breach of religious neutrality. Sita's followers replied that the action of the Committee was only permissive; no teacher would be compelled to use the book, but could do so if he wished to. Dr Macdonald replied that if the book were placed on the authorised list, it could be made compulsory by any teacher who chose to prescribe it for a scholarship examination. Dr Macdonald was out-voted in the Committee, and the book was placed on the list; but on the advice of the Director of Public Instruction, Government, who reserved the right to exercise a veto in all such cases, afterwards struck it off. Dr Macdonald himself was not restrained by scruples about religious neutrality from doing his best to have the school books issued by the Christian Literature Society placed on the list.

Some years ago the Syndicate of Calcutta University, deeply impressed with the desirability of imparting something in the way of moral teaching to the course of study prescribed for candidates for matriculation, appointed a small Committee to consider the matter and prepare a report. This Committee consisted of Sir Alfred Croft, who was then Director of Public Instruction, Mr Justice Guru Dass Banerjea, and Dr Macdonald. Their report, which was adopted by the Syndicate and approved by the Government, recommended that in addition to the usual essentials to the Entrance Text-Book, volumes of English selections should be specially prepared and prescribed, which should consist of both prose and poetry; that the prose be taken from authors of the nineteenth century; that at least one-half of the extracts should have a direct bearing on conduct, either by way of precept or example; and that as far as possible a similar principle should be kept in view in making the poetical selections. Mr Tawney, the Principal of the Presidency College, prepared a book on these lines, which was approved of; but to a book afterwards prepared by Mr Tawney's successor, with a view to serve the same purpose, Dr Macdonald, as President of the English Board of Studies, strongly and successfully objected. The book, he pointed out, did not observe the rules

which the Committee had laid down, and sufficient care had not been taken to ensure that the selections were suitable either from the moral or the literary point of view.

The students' societies, of which Dr Macdonald was at one time or another President, were legion, and no record of them seems to exist. There were also literary and "improvement" societies, not confined to students, who eagerly sought his patronage, and seldom failed in their quest. One of these was the Family Literary Society of Bara Baxar, of which he became President very early in his career. This honour he valued highly for a special reason. His predecessor in office was the Rev. Mr Long, a famous man in his day. Some years earlier race feeling had been excited to a high degree by disputes between the indigo planters in Bengal and their tenants. The planters had wished to insist upon the tenants growing indigo, whether they wished to do so or not, and the tenants resented this interference with their freedom. Mr Long, a missionary of the English Church, incurred the hostility of the European community by publishing an English translation of a vernacular drama, *Nil Durpan*, or the *Mirror of Indigo*, in which the native aspect of the controversy was presented in a manner that appears mildness itself compared with the tone of modern vernacular journalism. In his own introduction, Mr Long criticised severely the attitude of two leading English newspapers in Calcutta. He was charged with libelling these two newspapers by his introduction, and the whole body of planters by the publication of the play itself, and was thrown into prison and heavily fined as well. A lecture delivered to this Society by Dr Macdonald in 1867, on *Instinct and Intelligence in the Lower Animals*, was published at the request and also at the expense of the Society. He was also President of the Calcutta Improvement Society.

Although he made no claim to be a musician, the native Academy of Music presented to him a diploma of honorary membership in recognition of his encouragement of Hindu music generally, and especially of the part he had taken in the application of that music to Christian hymns.

It is not necessary to do more than to refer again to his work for the Bible and Tract Societies, the Christian Literature Society and the Calcutta Missionary Conference, of which he was Secretary for many years. He was also President of the Lord's Day Union, which did good work in securing the observance of the weekly Day

of Rest in India. Another organisation in which he took a keen and unwearied interest was the Bengal Christian Family Pension Fund. For some time he was President of the Board of Directors, and as one of the Directors he was re-elected at the head of the poll as late as the year 1902. He took much pride in the prosperity of this Fund. All the investors were Indian Christians, and he regarded it as a striking proof of the vitality and strength of the Bengal Christian community that their subscriptions to this Insurance Fund amounted to four hundred thousand rupees (over £26,000), all invested in $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Government securities.

When Professor J. S. Blackie launched his scheme for the establishment and endowment of Celtic chairs in the Scottish universities, Dr Macdonald appealed through the press to his fellow-Highlanders in Bengal for subscriptions to the fund. It is not apparent from his papers whether the response was liberal or not.

Another Society which was organised towards the end of Dr Macdonald's life, and which he deeply regretted he had not himself advocated many years earlier, was the Society for the Protection of Children in India. It was formed on the model of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and its aim was to do for India what the Rev. Benjamin Waugh had done for England. The need for such an enterprise was very apparent. In Bombay alone, it was said, about three hundred little boys and girls were used for begging purposes by professional beggars, under circumstances of great cruelty and tyranny. Child-branding was common all over India, in some cases from mistaken ideas of curing disease, but in others simply from wanton cruelty, and child-wives were the frequent victims of this form of barbarity. The sale of boys and girls of tender age for immoral purposes was known to exist, and kidnapping for the same vile end was common, especially in time of famine. In the famine of 1897, a case was discovered in which an agent went all the way from Calcutta to Ajmere to procure Rajput girls in this way. Then very little was being done to enforce the provisions of the "Age of Consent" Act. The Society was to deal with all such cases brought to its notice, irrespective of caste, creed or race.

Possibly it was the knowledge of the fact that some of the practices which the Society would endeavour to suppress, such as

the dedication of girls to the service of the temples, had the sanction of the Hindu religion, and were hardly regarded as wrong by the great mass of the Mohammedans, which led the founders of this Society to draw up its constitution on a Christian basis. To this Dr Macdonald objected. He wished everything to be eliminated from the constitution that might prevent non-Christians from co-operating with Christians to secure the end in view, if they wished to do so. The matter was debated at several meetings, and Dr Macdonald's views had many sympathisers. He was in ill-health at the time, and just on the eve of sailing for furlough, so he addressed the following letter to Miss Billing, the Honorary Secretary of the Society :—

"Dear Miss Billing,—As I cannot be present at any of the meetings of the S.P.C.I. for some time to come, I write to you a brief summary of the reasons which influence me in seeking to widen the basis of the Society.

"1. The first is the difficulty of drawing a line so as not to exclude some whom we would all like to include, and not to include many whose association we do not want. There are Christians acknowledging no human organisation whose help we would appreciate. There are Christians, again, and I include Roman Catholics and all Sacramentarians, who would exclude from all consecrated places in earth or in heaven all unbaptised infants. I for one would feel more in sympathy in the work of the S.P.C.I. with Brahmos, Hindus and Mohammedans than with such.

"2. I delight in joining with Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsees, Jains, etc., in all good work in which we can unite without violation of my principles; as I do in efforts to promote temperance, purity, sanitation, education (as represented by the Calcutta University), feeding the hungry (as in famine operations), healing the sick (as under the Lady Dufferin Fund), etc. I can so join in various kinds of activities in the way of protecting little children, as distinguished from evangelising them in Sunday Schools.

"3. While expressing regret that I have been so long in India without taking any steps to organise any S.P.C.I., and also that I consented (though disapproving) to a basis so narrow and seemingly so pharisaical and un-Christian, as to exclude from union with us any who sympathised with our object and were willing to co-operate

with us in the furtherance thereof, that I feel is no reason why I should not heartily now join such a Society and do what I can to broaden its basis, and welcome equally heartily *all* who are in sympathy with our object and are willing to help in securing it."

In Dr Macdonald's absence a modification was made in the wording of the constitution which removed his objections, and did as a matter of fact secure the support and the co-operation of some of the leading members of the Hindu and Mohammedan communities in the Society's work. As it was considered essential to the successful working of the Society that it should engage a Secretary who could devote his whole time to its objects, an appeal was made for £1200 to make this possible for at least three years. Dr Macdonald was able to raise one-third of this sum from friends in Scotland during his furlough. On returning to India Dr Macdonald followed the work of the Society with much interest. As Mrs Macdonald held the office of Treasurer, he was kept in close touch with all its proceedings. Mrs Macdonald was also Secretary of the Ladies' Committee, Dufferin Victoria Hospital, which may be added to the beneficent agencies in which Dr Macdonald was deeply interested, although he himself had no official connection with it.

CHAPTER XVI

LITERARY WORK

"Half his genius was labour."—MORLEY'S *Life of Gladstone.*

DR MACDONALD'S literary activity was so incessant, and it was spread over so many years and embraced so great a variety of subjects, that this and the following chapter can be little more than a catalogue of his publications, and incomplete even at that.

He was one of the first—after Carey and his colleagues at Serampore, of course—to adequately recognise the importance of the press as a missionary agency, and his example in this respect, apart from or in addition to the intrinsic merits of his writings, is a valuable heritage bequeathed to his successors. The educated natives of India have taken with extraordinary avidity and undeniable ability to modern journalism; and the various religious movements which have originated among themselves, or as the indirect result of Christian and Western influences, have led to the production of innumerable works in every shape and form, from ponderous editions in three volumes to tracts and leaflets of the orthodox pattern, both in English and in the vernacular. Nowhere has this literary revival been more marked than in Calcutta and among the Bengalis. When Dr Macdonald came to India, he found this stream of anti-Christian, atheistic, theistic, agnostic literature at a comparatively early stage in its course, but it was even then flowing full and free, with a strength of current that foretold the dimensions to which it was soon to grow. No one strove more manfully than he did in his day to resist this stream or to turn it into Christian channels.

It was in connection with the *Indian Evangelical Review* that Dr Macdonald became most widely known to his fellow-missionaries throughout India. The aim of the founders of this quarterly was to make it the unofficial organ of all evangelical missionaries in India. It was to be the exponent of their thoughts and convictions,

the record of the progress of their work; it was to afford facilities for the discussion of the problems that confronted them, and to throw light on the faith and practice of the Hindus, Mohammedans, Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs, Parsees and aborigines of India. Above all, its aim was to weld the missionaries together into one compact army, animated by one spirit and striving to attain the same end. This was a high ideal, rendered very difficult by the diversity of creed among the missionaries, and by the vastly different conditions that prevailed in their widely scattered fields of labour. But it may be safely said that through Dr Macdonald's patient, plodding, dogged earnestness, the *Review* in his hands came nearer to the realisation of this ideal than any other periodical in India, before or since. It was in 1880, the reader may remember, that Dr Macdonald was persuaded to take over the editorship from the Rev. W. Park of Bombay, a missionary of the American Board, who was leaving India. It remained in his hands for twenty years, till his furlough in 1899. Such a record is rare in India, where the endless changes in the missionary community are a serious difficulty in the way of sustained literary efforts. He was a most painstaking, conscientious editor, and cheerfully faced the inevitable drudgery of his task. At first he was manager, publisher and proprietor as well as editor, doing practically everything, in fact, except the printing; but latterly Messrs Traill & Co. of Calcutta became the publishers, and relieved him of all financial responsibility as well as of a good deal of clerical work. Still the labour involved was considerable. Most of his contributors lived at a distance, some of them over a thousand miles away, so that nearly all the proof correction had to be done by the editor, a task rendered by no means lighter by the fact that the "copy" in India is usually set up by compositors who know English very imperfectly, if at all. During one furlough Dr Macdonald continued to edit the *Review* from home. In 1892-93 his son-in-law, Mr Tomory, relieved him. When he went home again in 1899 he resigned the editorship, and the Rev. A. Paton Begg, of the London Mission, succeeded him. On his return in 1900 Dr Macdonald was pressed to resume the editorship, but did not see his way clear to do this. Mr Begg carried it on till the end of 1903, when his own furlough became due. No one could then be found to undertake the work, and the *Review* was allowed to die with the year. Dr Macdonald's work in connection with it brought him the goodwill and friendship of many

missionaries and others, representing nearly all the churches in India and in places far removed from Calcutta. On only one occasion, as far as we know, did it threaten to involve him in serious difficulty. For publishing, with comments, an account of an unfortunate lawsuit between two missionaries in Calcutta over twenty years ago, one of the parties involved threatened to sue him for twenty thousand rupees damages for defamation of character; but nothing seems to have come of it, although the article supposed to incriminate him was republished in pamphlet form.

In the year 1901 Dr John Murdoch, of the Christian Literature Society, compiled a "Classified Catalogue of Christian Literature, English and Vernacular, printed in India, at the close of the Nineteenth Century." Dr Macdonald's list of publications, all in English, which he prepared at Dr Murdoch's request, contains 149 separate entries. It was printed apart from the other list, as it contained the names of many publications which were out of print and no longer on sale. Of these 149 items, the pamphlets consisting of reprints of Dr Macdonald's own contributions to the *Review* numbered 93. One or two of the entries are of second editions, enlarged or otherwise modified.

All these publications may roughly be classified as educational or religious, those written for use in the classroom or by the student in preparation for his examinations, or those written with a directly religious purpose. Among the religious works, again, we may distinguish those written to expound or vindicate Christian truth, to expose the errors of its opponents, or to commend it to non-Christians, from those whose purpose it was to explain and illustrate the non-Christian systems of belief for the sake of Christians. The latter class, in which Dr Macdonald sought to interpret Hinduism, ancient and modern, orthodox and heterodox, for the enlightenment of Christian readers and to facilitate missionary enterprise, is so important and so distinct that it may be relegated to a separate chapter.

To the above a large number of publications must be added under the head Miscellaneous, for as a missionary to men Dr Macdonald regarded nothing that concerned men as beyond the sphere of his interest. Then the divisions we have sketched out are by no means mutually exclusive in any one particular. Take for instance, in illustration of this and as a good introduction to Dr Macdonald's works in general, his *Story of Barlaam and*

Joasaph: Buddhism and Christianity. This is a book of over 300 pages, published in 1895 by Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta. It was the fruit of Dr Macdonald's reading in the British Museum during his previous furlough. *Barlaam and Josaphat*, "the first religious romance published in a Western language," was written in Greek by the famous Christian monk, John of Damascus, in the eighth century. Its name is founded, it is believed, partly on the Biblical name Balaam, and partly on the name Bodisat, one of the titles given to Gautama Buddha in Buddhistic writings. In the Arabic this became Yudasatf, which the Greek Christian would readily change to Joasaph or Josaphat. The story is evidently of Buddhistic origin, a fact which lay concealed through many centuries till discovered by the French scholar Laboulaye in 1859. The romance had in the meantime been translated into Arabic, Latin (many versions), German, Dutch, French, Italian, Scandinavian, Spanish and English; it had been the source of stories found in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, and of the caskets story in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*; but strangest tale of all, it had led to "the highest honour the Christian Church can bestow" being conferred on Buddha, the great apostle of atheism. He is found among the calendar saints of both the Greek and Roman Churches, under the name and title of St Josaphat. Perhaps this is no less strange than the fact that he has also been appropriated by the Hindus as an incarnation of Vishnu.

Dr Macdonald's own contribution to the volume is an introduction of sixty closely printed pages, devoted to "the rectifying of what I believe is a total misrepresentation of the facts of history with reference to the supposed influence of Buddhism on the literature of the West." Mr Arthur Lillie had published two large works to prove that Essenism was Buddhism, and that Christ was an Essene monk. Ernest de Bunsen had followed on the same track. Professor Seydel and Sir Edwin Arnold, although not going so far, had seemed to make presumptions pointing in the same direction; and the last straw had been added to this load of error by Mr R. C. Dutt, C.I.E., a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service, in his *History of Ancient India* and other works, in which he tried to prove that primitive Christianity was largely indebted to Buddhism.

Dr Macdonald's reply to this was that there was absolutely no

evidence that Buddha or Buddhism had been even heard of in Syria, Egypt or Europe before the third century of the Christian era; and that the little that there was in common between the Buddhist and the Christian canonical writings was quite insufficient to justify the belief that there had been any contact between the pre-Christian Buddhistic writings and the various books of the New Testament at their respective formative periods. The evidence of the extensive spread of Buddhism in pre-Christian times was very meagre. The earliest historian of India, Megasthenes the Greek, who became ruler of the Greek province of India after the death of Alexander the Great, wrote an account of the country, in which he makes no mention of Buddhism among the religions of India. Yet he had a representative at the court of Chundra Gupta, at Patna in Magadha, the headquarters and birthplace of Buddhism, and Buddha is believed to have been born 150 years before the Conquest of India by Alexander. Then the inscriptions of Asoka, the Constantine of Buddhism, were quite inconclusive evidence of the spread of Buddhism beyond India, there was so much doubt about their interpretation. As regards the internal evidence, it had been greatly exaggerated. If we took the beautiful lines from the *Dammapada*,—

> "Rise up and loiter not!
> Follow after a holy life!
> Who follows virtue rests in bliss,
> Both in this world and the next!
> Follow after a holy life,
> Follow not after sin,"

to the superficial observer their sentiment might seem to be eminently Christian. But on more careful study it would become apparent that hardly a single term in these lines conveyed the same idea to a Christian as they did to a Buddhist mind. To a Buddhist the "holy life" bore no relation to God, His law, His service or His glory. To love was to sin. Perfection of holiness was the total extinction of desire and action; salvation was the utter extinction of consciousness. Of course there were minute points of agreement, but the wonder was that in the teaching of a great master like Buddha there were not more. Then the best authorities were agreed that the Buddha birth-stories, of which so much had been made, were of Christian origin, and an equally late date of many other Buddhistic writings had to be kept in mind throughout

the discussion. The earliest Buddhistic writings contained hardly any reference to Buddha's life, and among the northern Buddhists of Tibet, China and Japan he was hardly regarded as a person at all, but a personification, or ideal. In the words of Kuenen, who could not be suspected of any bias in favour of Christianity, "we must abstain from assigning to Buddhism the smallest direct influence on the origin of Christianity."

On reading *The Church in the Roman Empire before* A.D. 170, by Professor W. M. Ramsay of Aberdeen, it occurred to Dr Macdonald that he as a Greek and Latin scholar and archæologist and author of the *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, as well as of the work just mentioned, would of all living men be most likely to know whether Buddhism had extended to Asia Minor in the first century of the Christian era. So he laid his views before him and asked for his opinion. It was given without delay or hesitation in a letter which is now printed as part of a prefatory note: "There is not a trace of evidence that Buddhism or Buddhistic ideas were known in Asia Minor in the first century after Christ."

This book was thus written avowedly for purposes of religious controversy; yet it was adopted by the Calcutta University as a text-book. When it was decided to include early English in the English subjects for the Premchand Roychand Studentship Examination in 1895, the old English version of *Barlaam and Josaphat*, as in the Bodleian, Vernon and Harleian MSS., was among the books specially recommended for study. Dr Macdonald undertook to procure these texts and to publish them as part of his book, with annotations by the Rev. Dr Morrison of the General Assembly's Institution.

To return to our classifications. Most of the educational books —mathematical, philosophical, historical and literary—have already been mentioned in the chapter on the Educational Missionary. To these must be added an *English Course* for the Entrance Examination of 1872 of the Calcutta University, with Notes, Memoirs, etc. This was a book of 320 pages, of which 4000 copies were sold.

Among the religious publications for the purpose of Christian propagandism, a further distinction may be made between the controversial and the evangelistic, the destructive and the constructive. Here again, however, there is a good deal of overlapping. The controversial tracts directed against Romanism and

Ritualism within the Christian fold, and against Hinduism, Buddhism, Positivism, Theism or Brahmoism without, were too numerous even to mention. To this sub-division may also be added his papers on social questions, which, from the Hindu point of view, are essentially religious, such as infanticide, infant marriage and enforced widowhood. How deeply rooted these evils are is indicated by a fact alluded to before, that while Dr Macdonald's tracts entitled, *Are the Old Gods Dead, or Deaf Mutes?* and *The Decline of Hinduism*, were received by the Calcutta Hindus with good-natured equanimity, his condemnation of infant marriage and his advocacy of the Age of Consent Bill aroused their bitter antagonism. The addition of "Deaf Mutes" to the title of the first of these tracts had evidently been suggested by the author's experience in the management of the Deaf and Dumb Institution. It illustrates how his varied activities were intermingled and all made subservient to the one supreme end. Two pamphlets on *What is Holy Matrimony?* one from the Roman Catholic position, the other from the Hindu standpoint; the *Re-marriage of Hindu Widows; Concerning Infant Marriage; Ashu Ghosha on Caste, in reply to a Saivite; Christianity in Eastern Bengal*, with special reference to certain Roman Catholic communities; *Sundry Documents on the Marriage Question; The Old Hindu Marriage Ritual; The Government of India on the Marriage Laws; Buddha on the Female Sex;* several papers on *Buddhism*, afterwards incorporated in the introduction to *Barlaam and Joasaph; Papers relative to Infanticide;* the *Recent History of Babu Keshub Chunder Sen; Notes on the Indian Marriage and Divorce Laws; Agnosticism* versus *Christianity; Rome's Relation to the Bible; the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome; Hindu Law on the Re-marriage of Women; Who are the True Followers of Rajah Ram Mohon Roy? The Transmigration of Souls; Is Hinduism a Religion? Neo-Vaisnaism or Neo-Vishnuvitism; What is Krishnaism? Mr Bulloram Mullick's Defence of Idolatry; Auguste Comte, the Positivist*, were the other principal publications in this group. Their nature is in most cases clear from their titles or from the preceding chapters, but a word of explanation is necessary with reference to the papers on Infanticide. Bishop Thoburn, when on furlough in 1896 in the United States, had been challenged by an opponent of missions to prove that infanticide had ever been practised in India. He had not books of reference at hand in America, so he wrote to that

useful institution, Dr Macdonald, asking him to look up the matter and report. The latter had no difficulty in proving the case up to the hilt. He published in full not only the Marquis of Wellesley's Regulation for Preventing the Sacrifice of Children at Saugor and other places, which was dated 1802, but also much of the evidence given at the inquiry which had resulted in its issue. No doubt at other places children had sometimes been thrown into the Ganges and rescued again, but this was not the case at Saugor, an island at the mouth of the Hoogly river, and a favourite place for these sacrifices. There the children were either devoured by sharks at once or carried out to sea. A European witness, one of the Hoogly pilots, testified at the inquiry not only that infants were treated in this way, but that on one occasion he had seen eleven men, women and children put into the river to be eaten by sharks, as sacrifices to the Ganges in fulfilment of vows made by their relatives.

The papers, directly evangelistic in aim, came from Dr Macdonald's pen in an almost constant stream. In his Report to the Foreign Mission Committee for 1889, he sums up a single year's work in this department. It is worth transcribing :—

"*Jesus, the Bread of Life*, .	2 parts, each	4	pages,	5000 copies.
The Jubilee Hooghly Bridge, . .	8	,,	5000	,,
The Christian Hope, ...	8	,,	5000	,,
Moses' Choice, ...	8	,,	5000	,,
Sir Galahad, the Strong and Pure, .	30	,,	6000	,,
Testimonies to the Character of Christ,	4	,,	5000	,,
The Claims of Christ as stated by Himself, ...	32	,,	500	,,
The Miracles of Jesus, . . .	32	,,	500	,,

This refers exclusively to the work done in that year alone for the Tract Society. Many of the four-page and eight-page tracts were distributed free, at Beadon Square and elsewhere; the larger ones were sold.

We may take *The Jubilee Hooghly Bridge* as a good and characteristic specimen of Dr Macdonald's purely evangelistic tracts. This bridge, which spans the river Hoogly at the town of the same name, twenty-five miles above Calcutta, and thus connects the railways on the west with those on the east bank, was opened in

1887. It had cost nearly £350,000, and was much admired as the largest bridge at that time in India (it has been far surpassed since), and because the cantilever principle on which it was constructed, although understood by the Himalayan mountaineers for many generations, was a novelty to the people of Bengal. First the reader of the tract is reminded of passages in the Christian Scriptures, the Church of England Prayer Book, the *Rig-Veda*, the *Mahabharat*, and Plato, where life is compared to a river or a flood, across which we need divine help to carry us in safety. Then the great central pillar of the bridge, standing in mid-stream, with an arm outstretched to either bank, is a fine figure —dangerously full of detailed analogies—of the Mediator, the God-Man. In conclusion, he has a special word for those among his readers who are studying for the First Examination in Arts, and reading among the prescribed books, Scott's *Marmion* and Cowper's *Task*. He reminds them of the lines in the first which describe the annual commemoration of the incarnation of the eternal Son of God, and more especially the words :—

> "All hail'd, with uncontroll'd delight,
> And general voice, the happy night,
> That to the cottage as to the crown,
> Brought tidings of salvation down."

He also directs their attention to the Life of Cowper prefixed to the Clarendon Press edition of the *Task* which many of them were using. Here they could read how, when the poet was suffering from remorse bordering upon despair, he opened his Bible and read the words in Romans iii. 25, "Christ Jesus, whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood, to declare His righteousness for the remission of sins that are past through the forbearance of God." "Immediately," in his own words, "I received strength to believe, and the full beams of the sun of righteousness fell upon me. And now all was joy and peace." It was true that he went mad, possibly through religious excitement acting on a mind that had been weakened by much suffering. But, the biographer referred to justly remarked, "it was religion that restored him from madness."

Wordsworth's Religion from the Hindu Point of View was a lecture printed for distribution as a tract. At the time of its

publication he was Examiner for the B.A. degree, and Wordsworth's poems were among the subjects prescribed in English. The *Apology of Aristides* is the title both of a paper read to the Missionary Conference, published in the *Review* and reprinted as a pamphlet, and also of an evangelistic tract. It was a document which Dr Macdonald regarded as of surpassing interest and importance. Aristides, like his great namesake, was an Athenian. He was a philosopher who was converted to Christianity about the beginning of the second century. Dr Macdonald suggests that his father may have heard Paul preach on Mar's Hill. His *Apology*, addressed to the Emperor Hadrian in the year 125 A.D., is the earliest extant "apology" for Christianity outside of the sacred Scriptures. It has come down to us in the original Greek only in the story of *Barlaam and Joasaph*, for it is embedded in that old romance in the form of an argument addressed to an Indian prince by a Christian monk, in favour of Christianity. An Armenian version came to light in a convent in Vienna some years ago, and in 1889 Professor Rendel Harris discovered a Syriac version among a great many other manuscripts in the convent of St Catherine on Mount Sinai. It was Mr J. Armitage Robinson who identified the passage in *Barlaam and Joasaph* as the long-lost *Apology of Aristides*, through the fortunate coincidence that he was studying the former story at the same time that he was editing the Syriac translation recently brought from Mount Sinai. Dr Macdonald looked upon the *Apology* as a useful guide to the Indian missionary. Not only was it the earliest work in existence addressed by a Christian to a non-Christian, it was an appeal to a man who was under the influence of a religion which had much in common with Hinduism, an attempt to turn a polytheist to the one living and true God. Aristides pointed out the destructive effect of Greek mythology on private and public morals. "If those who are called their gods," he said, "have done all those things that are written above, how much more shall men do them who believe in those who have done these things." What "these things" were, it is not necessary to specify. He appealed to the Emperor as a philosophic ruler and lawgiver; either the gods stood condemned by the laws which men had made, or these laws were condemned by the example of the gods. This was a point Dr Macdonald often emphasised—what he called the "moral impotency and immoral potency" of pagan polytheism, its disastrous

effects on the great natural virtues of truth and purity. He strongly dissented from the advice given to the Conference by one of his fellow-missionaries, "not to touch the weak points of Hinduism as long as we can help it." This was the vulnerable point in all pagan religions, the point at which the ancient prophets struck with all their might. But while attacking and endeavouring to extirpate the disease, let them remember that their object was to save the patient's life. The tract which has been alluded to consisted of extracts from the *Apology*. A tract on *Mrs Besant's Phases of Faith* sought to point the moral of that gifted lady's transition from Materialism to Theosophy; the reasons she had given for so radical a change would, if consistently followed out, lead to Christ and Christianity. Another tract on the *Inspiration of the Bible* was written to show what the Christian theory of inspiration was *not*, and also what it was. The Bible made no such claim to miraculous origin as did the Vedas and Koran; nor were its words believed to have any magical influence in themselves. Hebrew and Greek, as the original language of the Scriptures, were not held to be of divine origin, nor was there any virtue in the originals that was lost in translation. The Bible was written by men who were inspired for that work by the Holy Spirit, but they were still men; it was an authentic historical record of God's revelation of Himself to men.

Certain Philosophers on Sin; Christ the Fulfiller of the Law and Prophets; Sir Edwin Arnold's Light of the World; The Mind of Jesus; The Wisdom of John, are the titles of other tracts. *The Insufficiency of Mere Theism* and some others have been referred to before. A series of papers on *What Jesus Said and Did* seems to have gone to the making of the *Manual of Christian Doctrine*, a book of 226 pages, for use in schools and colleges. The *Papers on the Bible* were also, in several cases, first issued as tracts.

Another distinct group is formed by the papers read to the Missionary Conference on theological subjects considered from a missionary point of view, and reprinted from the *Review* in pamphlet form. One of the longest of these, entitled *Relative Hindu and Christian Facts*, was an elaborate compilation of all the passages where there seemed to be a resemblance between the Hindu and the Christian scriptures in sentiment, doctrine or incident. It was the substance of this essay that was read to the Missionary Conference under the title of Hinduism and Christianity, as recorded in

a previous chapter. *The Intermediate State of the Blessed Dead* was written with special reference to the questions of prayers for the dead. The writer found no countenance for such prayers nor for the theory of a second probation after death, either in the Bible or the Christian Fathers of the first three centuries. When the custom of praying for the dead did creep in, it seemed to be limited to the cases of great dignitaries, bishops and emperors, and was perhaps the survival of pagan ancestor-worship. The idea of a temporal penal state after death was borrowed from the Platonists. But the whole thing was so utterly inconsistent with the spirit and aim of Christianity, that it had to be rejected; but to atone for this loss Purgatory, taken from Virgil, was introduced instead.

The Power of the Resurrection in the Mission Fields of India was an exposition of the truth that the resurrection of Jesus as a historical fact was the only possible explanation of the early triumphs of Christianity. Herein, too, lay the secret of missionary power and success. Pan was dead; so were Ram and Krishna, Buddha and Mahomet. But Christ was alive. "He not only arose, He *is* risen." The recognition that *Jesus was the Lord* was the essence of the Christian faith; all Christian doctrine culminated in that, and was to be interpreted in the light of that supreme truth. An abstract of this paper was also printed for distribution among non-Christians.

How were the Christians of various conflicting nationalities welded together into one fellowship in Apostolic times? was a very natural question for the Indian missionary to ask and seek to answer. The four things in which the converts in Jerusalem continued steadfastly were, "the apostles' teaching," "fellowship," "breaking of bread" and "prayer." In these the explanation was to be sought. Commenting on the third of these, he quoted remarks of his old teacher, Principal Cunningham, that "no one who knows what human nature is will wonder that a common meal should be made the most sacred institution of the Christian religion. In all times and in all lands social meals have served the high purpose of cementing friendship, extinguishing enmities, stimulating enthusiasms and commemorating the virtues of the illustrious dead." An illustration of this truth was to be found in Hinduism. At Puri, the great temple of Jagannath (Vishnu) in Orissa, the pilgrims of all castes ate together, and all castes also joined in the *shraddha* or funeral obsequies. These feasts, he

believed, did more than any other Hindu institutions to weld together Hindus as a society, while their caste rules, preventing their eating and drinking together, completely interfered with such amalgamation. It was the loving social intercourse implied in the common meal, the Love-feast and the Lord's Supper, that extorted from the surrounding heathen the admiring exclamation, "See how these Christians love one another." Further, a careful study of Paul's epistles, as well as of Acts, showed that the early policy of the Christian leaders was to allow liberty in matters non-essential, and to inculcate charity in all things; to cultivate the spirit of courtesy and beneficence, and to avoid all glorying in nationality or race feeling. The elementary lesson of Christianity in its social aspect was that all men were brethren, without distinction of caste or race or colour, and Christians had the further bond of union as fellow-workers in a common cause, for a common Master.

Another paper was on *The Prophets of the New Testament Church.* Who were they? They were evidently distinct from the prophetic schools of the Old Testament times, and also from the apostles, pastors, teachers, evangelists, elders and deacons of the New. They sometimes worked miracles, spoke with tongues, and foretold the future; but all that seemed to be outside their ordinary work. There were women as well as men among them. Their special duty seemed to be, as God's representatives or ambassadors, to stir up the religious emotions by exhortation. The order gradually disappeared under the weight of rules, regulations, customs and precedents, established in the interests of order; but it would be a good thing if men with such gifts could still be recognised and used by the Church.

The Book of Job; a Manual for the Indian Missionary, was another publication that went through the same cycle. It was read to the Missionary Conference in 1897, published in the *Review*, and then printed as a pamphlet. Its special object was to consider the Problem of Suffering in the light of the Book of Job, with reference to the solutions proposed by Hinduism and Buddhism. The traditional theory in Job's day was that suffering was the direct result of sin, that all happiness and all misery were traceable to the pleasure or displeasure of the Supreme Will, because of man's goodness or his wickedness. This was natural in the Semitic, or at least in the Jewish religion. But in the case of religions like the Hindu, with a mythology utterly inconsistent with the idea that the

supreme powers were either pleased with virtue or displeased with vice, there was the utmost difficulty in accounting for suffering in this way. Buddha tried to solve the difficulty by eliminating God altogether and regarding existence itself as essentially evil. Hinduism effected connection between suffering and an abstract law or principle which practically superseded the gods, or, in other words, by the invention of *Karma* and reincarnations. But in the present crisis or transition, men in India were feeling for another solution of the mystery of suffering. *Karma* presented the same difficulties as did the theories of Job's friends; the formula was inadequate, it failed to cover all the facts. Job repudiated the orthodox theory of his time with scorn. Would the theory of *Karma*, that his sufferings were due to sins in a previous life or in previous lives, have satisfied him? Certainly not. He had no consciousness of such sin. Such an explanation would do nothing to vindicate God's righteousness, or bring comfort to a rational man in the day of adversity. The theory was baseless, a pure invention. Some Hindus, Buddhists and Theosophists had professed to remember what they did or experienced in a former existence, but it was a remarkable thing that no fact of history or of literature had ever been discovered or verified in this way—nor even a doubtful reading in any manuscript cleared up. The Buddhist might have explained his refinement of the *Karma* doctrine to Job, denying continued individuality or personality, and accounting for suffering as the inherited results of other people's sins; but there was no justice, no answer to Job's perplexity in that. While the Book of Job taught that his bold faith, in appealing to God against His seeming injustice, was more acceptable to Him than the servile platitudes of his friends who tried to distort the facts in order to magnify God, it could not be said to furnish a final solution of the problem. It needed Christ to do that, by His teaching on the inwardness of true blessedness, and His doctrine of a future life.

The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles and *The Gospel according to Peter* were also read before the Missionary Conference.

Among miscellaneous publications we may include a large group of historical papers. That on the *Northern Missionary Society* was compiled from unpublished manuscripts discovered in a Highland manse during the furlough of 1892-93. Although published in India, it attracted a good deal of attention in Scotland, especially in the Highlands. It is the source of the information

about the Society given in the first chapter of this book. Along with this paper may be mentioned two others, the *Covenanters of Moray and Ross* and *Religion in "Moravia" and in Ross in the Olden Times.* There was also a series of papers on Dr Duff—three on the first four, the second ten, and the last seven years of his Indian career respectively, and one on his miscellaneous labours; and two papers of his own reminiscences of mission work in India and furlough experiences at home. Then there were historical sketches of the Calcutta Auxiliaries of the Bible and Tract Societies, and of the Indian Presbyterian Alliance. *The Literature of Tibet; The Nagar-Kirtan of Israel; The Instruction of Deaf Mutes; The Lepers of Ben-hur; Notes on the Educational Despatch of* 1854*; Primary Education in Bengal; Opium; The Open-Air Preaching Case; Bible Circulation*, also belong to this ill-defined group. All these were reprints from the *Review.*

A number of sermons preached in Calcutta were also published. One was on War, the others were on Sincerity, the Song of Moses and the claims of the women of India on the preachers of the Gospel. A great many books were reviewed in the *Review*, usually by the editor. Some of the more important of these notices were republished, such as the article on Tiele's *Science of Religion*, which made a pamphlet of twenty-four pages, and went through two editions; *Notes from Max Müller;* a review of Dr J. N. Bhuttacharjya's *Hindu Castes and Sects; Sir Alfred Lyall on the Hindu Religion;* and a review of Dr John Wilson's *Hindu Gods and Incarnations.*

The lecture on *Instinct and Intelligence in the Lower Animals*, referred to elsewhere, was warmly commended by the *Hindu Patriot* as "specially suited to our countrymen, unused to observation and *bona-fide* study."

The List which has been our guide in this enumeration was published in 1901. A good many publications were issued in the interval between that date and Dr Macdonald's death, but as most of them were in connection with the Tantras, they will be mentioned in the following chapter. In 1902 he wrote an introduction to the cheap edition of the Rev. P. Carnegie Simpson's *Fact of Christ*, which an American lady missionary in Calcutta brought out, by arrangement with the publishers, for the benefit of English-speaking Bengalis. It is impossible to trace more than a fraction of the

contributions to periodical literature which were not republished in other forms. An important paper on the revival of Hinduism appeared in the *American Journal of Theology* in 1898.

Another big task undertaken later than 1901, and uncompleted at the time of Dr Macdonald's death, was an analysis of the Reports of the Census of 1901. The Census of that year was a much more careful and detailed inquiry than any of the previous operations of the same kind had been. The staff of supervisors numbered 122,000, who had under them an army of enumerators, 1,325,000 strong, and were themselves under the direction of 9800 charge superintendents. The Reports of the Census, taken simultaneously throughout India on the night of the 1st March 1901, are embodied in twenty-six large volumes, foolscap size, of 500 to 600 pages each; and the tables, which are published separately, are much more voluminous. Dr Macdonald imposed upon himself the heavy task of going right through this mass of reading matter, pencil and note-book in hand, mainly with two objects in view. One was to extract all the facts bearing on the progress of Christianity, and to compare them with the returns furnished in mission reports. The other was to obtain unbiassed, independent, official testimony to the moral and religious condition of the people. Two very interesting facts were elicited. One was that if the missionaries had erred in their estimation of the numerical progress Christianity had made during the decade, it had been in the way of understatement. There were evidently a good many inaccuracies in the religious section, mainly in the apportioning of Christians to the various denominations. This may have been inevitable when so many of the enumerators were Indians ignorant of the Christian sects, but the matter was still more confused by the adoption of the rule that all Protestant Christians not otherwise specified were to be tabulated as belonging to the Church of England. Still, the net result was gratifying. It was to show that the Christian population of India in 1901 was 2,923,241, of whom 2,664,313 were natives. This was an increase of 30.8 per cent. in the decade, while the increase in the population in the same period was 2.42 per cent. The most sanguine missionary would hardly have predicted that the Census would reveal a rate of increase in the Christian community more than twelve times as great as that of the population in general.

The other fact was that the plain, unvarnished tale told in these

reports of the superstition and ignorance that prevailed among the vast bulk of the population of India, was a more damaging indictment of Hinduism and Mohammedanism than anything that missionaries had ever said or written. The papers in which Dr Macdonald communicated the results of his investigations were distributed over numerous periodicals — the *Indian Witness*, the *Indian Standard*, the *Harvest Field*, the *Indian Evangelical Review* and several others. They proved to be so useful that he was asked by some of his fellow-missionaries to condense them into a volume, but he died before he had quite completed his survey, a few of the belated reports not having appeared till just before his death. But the testimony to the usefulness of this piece of work was by no means confined to missionaries. Mr A. J. Fraser Blair, the editor of the *Englishman*, in a lecture delivered in Calcutta in March 1903, on the relations between the two races in India, paid a very warm tribute to the good missionaries had done and were still doing to promote a right understanding and a friendly feeling between them. "Missionaries," he said, "have taken infinite pains to penetrate to the dim interior of the native mind, which can only be reached by the intricate avenues of the religious beliefs. We need go no further back than to Dr Macdonald's fascinating studies of Hindu customs and beliefs, appearing in the *Indian Witness*, to realise with what industry Christian missionaries have mined among the riches of Indian mythical lore."

Specially interesting, because supplemented by personal observations and recollections, is the paper on the Census of Calcutta. The Report occupied three volumes, compiled by Mr J. R. Blackwood, with a historical sketch by Mr A. K. Ray, both of the Indian Civil Service. Dr Macdonald's article, which appeared in the *Indian Evangelical Review* of April 1903, was reprinted as a pamphlet of seventeen pages. Calcutta, with its suburbs, had a population of 941,144 souls. If Howrah, on the other side of the river, were included, the figure would be nearly 1,107,000. So its claim to be the second city of the empire is indisputable. Tokio is the only city that excels it in population in Asia, if the cities of China, for which accurate figures are not available, are left out of account. While London has increased five-fold during the century, Calcutta has increased six-fold. Calcutta has been called the "City of Palaces," but it would be more correct if it were renamed the "City of Huts," for within the old town the number of brick-

built houses was 38,574, while the huts, grouped into *busties* or *paras*, were 49,007.

The derivation of the name Calcutta is from *Kali-Kshetra*, the field of Kali, "the Hecate of the Hindus," the wife of Shiva, a goddess black and bloody, represented as wearing a necklace of human skulls and a girdle of human hands, with a sword in the one hand and a human head in the other. She is the goddess of death and destruction, the blood of the victims she has slain or devoured streams from her brow and breast; even human sacrifices were enjoined for her by the ancient Hindu books. According to an old Sanskrit poem, there were fifty-one places where portions of Kali's dead body fell, of which *Kali-Kshetra* marks the place which received the little toe of the goddess' right foot. It is believed that Bombay, the sister city in the West, is also named after the same goddess, under the title Maha-Amba, which has become corrupted into "Mumbai," as Bombay is still called by the natives.

Of the inhabitants of Calcutta in 1901, more than half, or 65 per cent., were Hindus, 30 per cent. Mohammedans and 4 per cent. Christians; but the rate of increase among the Christians was nearly 31 per cent. during the decade,[1] against 24 per cent. for the Hindus and 23 per cent. for the Moslems. The remaining 1 per cent. included Brahmos, Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, Zoroastrians, Jews, aborigines and others. The Hindus represented 180 castes, of whom the Brahmans were the most numerous, equal to one-seventh of the whole, or nearly one-tenth of the entire population. The Mohammedans were of several groups, for, whatever may be the case elsewhere, there is not even a pretence of homogeneity among the Moslems in Bengal. The system there no doubt has been largely modified through the accession of Hindus, many of whom continue to observe caste just as rigidly as before. Shekhs were in the overwhelming majority, but a Bengali Shekh may be almost anything. The Pathans came next, then the Sayads (descendants of the Prophet), and then the Moguls. The Christian population was divided into forty-six nationalities, not including native Christians. The Eurasians were 14,663 strong. Dr Macdonald had again to grieve, as he grieved twenty years before, over the evidence of child marriage even among Christians. Sixty Christian girls under fifteen

[1] Among the native Christians the increase was even greater, 47.9 per cent.

years of age and fifteen under twelve were returned as married, and there were six Christian widows under fifteen. All these were native Christians of the lower classes.

Of the whole population, 76.4 per cent., or 724,974 individuals, were illiterate. Nearly 60 per cent. of the boys and 80 per cent. of the girls of school-going age were not attending school. Among Hindu castes, by far the best educated were the Baidyas, with 70 per cent. of their males and 29.1 per cent. of their females literate. Their traditional profession is the practice of medicine, but they have forsaken it largely for merchandise and literary pursuits. As regards the native Christian community the report is on the whole favourable. (Where *do* the wholesale charges against the native Christians one hears so much about originate?) "The returns of Christians in respect of education present a striking contrast, even as regards native Christians." So writes Mr Blackwood. This was especially so as regards female education. Among Bengali native Christians 48.7 knew English, a higher figure than that found among the best educated Hindus, the Baidyas. "It is a remarkable fact," to quote Mr Blackwood again, "that the Brahmos, who are undoubtedly the most progressive amongst the Bengali population of Calcutta, have failed to reach the standard of native Christians in the matter of English female education." In Calcutta, too, the Christians represented about 20.6 of the learned and artistic professions, or about five times the amount due to them in proportion to their numerical ratio in the total population. The "disreputable" class was made up of 89.1 per cent. Hindus, 10.1 per cent. Musulmans and .02 per cent. Christians. The disreputable Christians included foreign European women. As regards literacy, the class at the opposite end of the scale from the Christians were the Mohammedans.

The Report threw a very interesting light upon the extent to which, in Calcutta at least, the Brahmans especially, and the other castes to a less degree, were forsaking their traditional occupations. By Hindu law the Brahman had the choice of three or four occupations, which were his exclusively. He could beg, serve as a priest, teach the Shastras, or cook. All other occupations were for him illegitimate, except in cases of overwhelming distress; even then his choice was restricted, and he must revert to a Brahminical life as soon as possible. If he took temporarily to the Vaishayas' occupation of trading, he must never traffic in sour milk, butter, honey,

beeswax, lac, alkali, sweets, spirits, meat, boiled rice, sesam,[1] linen, soma,[2] flowers, fruits, refined sugar, weapons, water, salt, cakes, plants, clothes, silk, leather, bones, earthenware, hair, saffron, vegetables or herbs. But Krishna said in the *Gita*: "A man must not forsake the occupation to which he is born, even although it is blameworthy." Manu, again, forbade Brahmans to cultivate, because "the iron-mouthed pieces of wood [*i.e.* the Indian plough] wounded not only the earth but the creatures dwelling in it." Yet in Calcutta not one-fourth of the Brahmans were following their legitimate occupations. They were tabulated in thirty-seven other professions or trades where they had no right to be, according to their own religion. And while the Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaishayas had all been climbing down, with a loss of dignity but an increase in prosperity as far as this world was concerned, there had been a corresponding climb up on the part of the Sudras.

Calcutta was still remarkable for the large excess of the male over the female population. Throughout the city it was about two to one, but in the Fort it was more than nine to one, and in the Port there was scarcely one woman to twenty-four men.

NOTE.

The Story of Barlaam and Josaphat.—The following outline of this story is practically in the words of Professor Rendel Harris:—

An Eastern king, named Abenner, whose realm seems to have been somewhere in "the further part of Ethiopia called India," persecutes the Christians, and especially the monks, whom he expels from his dominions. He is childless; but at length the young prince Josaphat is born, and the astrologers predict for him an extraordinary greatness. They add, moreover, that he will become a Christian. This his father determines to prevent. He encloses him in a magnificent palace, where, besides his tutor, who is a learned philosopher, only young and beautiful maidens are allowed to approach him; and forbids the mention of sorrow, disease and death, and, above all, of Christianity. When the prince is grown to man's estate, he asks his father to give him liberty. His entreaties are at last successful, as it seems that otherwise his life will be saddened, and the first step will have been taken towards his reception of the forbidden faith. He is allowed to drive out, but the way is carefully prepared beforehand, and guarded from the intrusion of sad sights and sounds. At length precaution fails, and he sees one day a lame man and a blind man, and another day a man wrinkled and tottering with age.

[1] A plant, *sesamum indicum*, yielding gingelly oil.

[2] A plant referred to in the Vedas in connection with the preparation of fermented beverages.

He inquires whether accidents may befall any man, and whether every man must come in the end to miserable old age or death. There is but one answer: and the joy has fled from his life.

A monk of the desert, Barlaam by name, is divinely warned of the prince's condition; he comes disguised as a merchant, and with difficulty obtains entrance to the prince on the pretext that he has brought a goodly pearl to show him. In a long discourse, into which Gospel parables and Eastern apologues are skilfully woven, he expounds to him the vanity of the world and the Christian hope of the world to come. In the end the prince is baptised, and Barlaam disappears into the desert. The king, distracted with rage on the one hand and love for his son on the other, casts about for means to shake his faith. A wily counsellor suggests a plan. There is to be an open debate on the truth of Christianity. An old man, Nachor by name, who closely resembles Barlaam, and who is an admirable actor, is to impersonate the monk. He is to make a lame speech, which the king's rhetoricians will easily refute. The prince, seeing his instructor baffled, will renounce his newly accepted faith.

The day comes, and Nachor, in the garb of Barlaam, professes to appear from the desert in response to the summons of the king. Josaphat finds an opportunity for addressing him privately before the discussion begins, reminding him of the difficulties in which his instructions have involved him, and promising him a miserable fate if he proves his point. Nachor is not reassured by this mode of address; but after some preliminary fencing on the part of the rhetoricians he begins to speak. Such was the providence of God, says the author, that like Balaam of old he had come to curse, but he ended by blessing with manifold blessings. Or, as he says again, lowering his metaphor: "He beckoned to the multitude to keep silence, and he opened his mouth, and like Balaam's ass he spake that which he had not purposed to speak." His speech is the Apology of Aristides, which has been already described. The result is that not only is Nachor himself convinced of Christianity, but the king himself and all his people are converted. When Josaphat succeeds his father he resigns his kingdom to a godly substitute, and retires to the desert to search out Barlaam that he may spend the rest of his days sharing his hermit life. After long wanderings, with many privations, he finds him. They live together in the desert for seventeen years, practising asceticism to such an extent that even Barlaam is smitten with wonder, and feels himself inferior to Josaphat in his severe discipline. Then Barlaam dies and is buried. Josaphat survives him seventeen years, living a solitary life. Then his nearest neighbour, another monk at a distance of twenty miles, comes to tell him that his death is ordained by God and to bury him beside Barlaam. This hermit, having performed this office, goes to Josaphat's former kingdom in Bengalia, to tell the news. The king appointed by Josaphat then brings both bodies to the royal city for burial. Many wonders and cures are performed by the bones, and miracles continue to be worked at the tomb.

Such in brief is the story. It is evidently founded on the life of Buddha, supplemented by the Christian Scriptures and the Apology of Aristides, with some slight modifications and adaptations in both. Doubts were thrown on the authenticity

of the story as early as the sixteenth century, even by good Catholics; but the great and learned Bellarmine thought its truth was certified by the fact that the author himself worshipped the two saints Barlaam and Josaphat. The history of this author, John of Damascus, who died in 756 A.D., throws light on the story. He had risen to the proud position of chief counsellor or vizier to the Caliph of Damascus, but was unjustly degraded. His master, repenting, offered to restore him, but he refused to listen. Disposing of all his goods, he departed to the Laura of St Sabas, where he lived a life of great mortification. He had before this been a great scholar, a mathematician, a natural historian and a famous controversialist against both Moslems and idolaters, but as a monk he renounced writing, reading and speaking.

CHAPTER XVII

LITERARY WORK (*continued*)

"I make no secret that true Christianity—I mean the religion of Jesus Christ —seems to me to become more and more exalted the more we know and the more we appreciate the treasures of truth hidden in the despised religions of the world." —MAX MÜLLER.

"It does seem a most un-Christian mode of showing our Christianity to sneer at the efforts of those wise ancients who felt after God if haply they might find Him, and on whom the daystar never rose, though their eyes, dim in death, were still turned towards the dawning."—MARCUS DODS.

OF the books and papers written by Dr Macdonald to expound and interpret the non-Christian religions of India, the *Vedic Religion* was one of the earliest and most important. It was a book of 268 pages. First an edition of 500 copies was published in Calcutta. Another edition, larger than the first, was published in London in 1881 by James Nisbet & Son at their own risk. It has been out of print for many years. In a letter to one of his children written while he was preparing this work, he describes it as an exposition of the oldest book written by the sons of Japhet—by which he meant the Aryans—and an attempt to show what the religion of the Hindus was in the time of Solomon. Recent scholars are inclined to assign even an earlier date than this to the *Rig-Veda*.

One of the by-products of his study for the above was a paper on *Primitive Religion and the Rig-Veda*, bearing the date 1880, which seems to have been one of Dr Macdonald's first contributions to the *Review*. He starts with the proposition that there is no proof that a state of savagery preceded civilisation, while there is abundance of evidence that many savage tribes reached their low condition through degeneration. For example, the Weddas are a tribe in Ceylon in the lowest state of savage degradation. Their language is limited to a few hundred vocables; yet it is derived from the Sanskrit. They cannot count beyond two or three, have no idea of letters, domesticate no animal but the dog, have no arts

beyond the power of making bows and arrows and constructing rude huts, and have no idea of God. They threaten to become extinct, and are dwarfed in stature as they are in intellect. Yet these people are believed to be the lineal descendants of the Aryan conquerors of India, and subsequently of those who, under the distinguished leadership of Rama, subdued Ceylon. The authority for this is Rawlinson, whose opinion is also quoted that the verdict of history is in favour of a primitive race of men, "not indeed equipped with all the arts and appliances of our modern civilisation, but substantially civilised, possessing language, thought, intelligence, conscious of a divine being, quick to form the conception of tools, and to frame them as it needed them, early developing many of the useful and elegant arts, and sinking only by degrees, and under peculiar circumstances, into the savage condition."

The special object of the paper is to inquire what light the study of the *Rig-Veda* throws upon the religion of the earliest inhabitants of the earth. One thing it clearly proves is that the history of Hinduism has been one of constant deterioration and of corruption of the religious sentiment. This is very apparent if the opinion held by scholars regarding the comparative age of the Vedic hymns is correct. Those addressed to Varuna are said to be the oldest;[1] and in them the religious sentiment is the purest and the conception of God the highest, furthest removed from a fetish and nearest our modern idea of the one true God. Varuna is the Greek *Ouranos*, synonymous with the Sanscrit *Dyaus*, the Latin *Deus* and the Keltic *Dia*.

There is no monotheism in the Vedas; but there are things which suggest that the pre-Vedic religion may have been monotheistic, expressed in a worship that rose above the tangible and semi-tangible. So dead did these conceptions become, that a hundred years ago not a single copy of the *Rig-Veda* was to be found in Bengal. While there is evidence that primitive religion was monotheistic, it is to be presumed that it was God-given. There is no instance of any people having evolved a monotheistic faith from polytheism by their own exertions. The preservation of the monotheism of the Jews is as remarkable as its origin. Both were of God. To specify more particularly, the traces of the purer

[1] Some modern critics, while agreeing with Dr Macdonald that the worship of Varuna is very ancient, would not admit that the hymns addressed to him are the oldest.

pre-Vedic religion in the *Rig-Veda*, its references to sacrifice, a mediator, praise and prayer and to traditions of creation are quoted. In these Vedic hymns there is no trace of the most degrading forms of idolatry that so blacken modern Hinduism, and very little of its most revolting, obscene mythological stories. If there is one thing the study of the Vedas makes clear, it is the insufficiency of human wisdom and knowledge either to find out God or to preserve true religion pure and uncorrupted. It also confirms our belief in the Pauline doctrine that a conjoint revelation of God's will is given in His Word and in His works.

The *Brahmanas of the Vedas* is a book of 222 pages, written for the Christian Literature Society in 1895, as one of a series of books on the Religions of the East. The Vedas consist of three main parts—the Vedic hymns, called *mantras* when used as spells; the *Brahmanas*, or the ritualistic and liturgical directions for the use of these *mantras* in sacrifice, mixed with a great deal of mythology; and the *Upanishads* or theosophical treatises. The first and last of these had received much attention from European scholars, but no attempt had hitherto been made to impart to the world at large a knowledge of the contents of the *Brahmanas*. To fill this gap was Dr Macdonald's aim. In a letter he describes the *Brahmanas* as the driest and most unreadable books he had ever met with, and for one with his experience of the East this meant a good deal. A book which was so uninteresting to the author could hardly be expected to arouse much enthusiasm on the part of the reader; but a second edition (making 4000 in all) was called for, and was issued with additional notes and an index, the fruit of much patient work in Dr Macdonald's closing years. He believed he was doing good service to his fellow-missionaries, and to other students of Hinduism, in opening up these comparatively unexplored regions.

Another study of ancient Hinduism which may be classed with the foregoing is *Agni, the Aryan God; a Parallel.* This consists of two papers published in the *Review* in 1897, which, when issued separately, formed a small volume of nearly 100 pages. It begins by pointing out how frequently *fire* is used in the Bible as a symbol of the holiness and justice of God, and *light* to signify support, comfort and deliverance. Then, although the Israelites were warned not to worship the sun, and Job regarded it as the strongest temptation to idolatry, still it is used as a similitude for God and an emblem of Jesus Christ. If inspired men used the sun, fire and

light to illustrate the divine character, with the full knowledge that they were the objects of idolatrous worship among the surrounding heathen, there can be nothing dishonouring to God in our emphasising the fact that our Aryan ancestors saw the divine in these phenomena and personified them in their god *Agni* (Latin, *ignis*). The Spirit who seeks men more than they seek Him, has surely sometimes spoken to these ancients words fitted to draw them to love and confidence in the Heavenly Father.

Speaking of the Holy Trinity, Babu Keshub Chunder Sen once said that "the apex is the very God Jehovah, the supreme Brahma of the Vedas." Dr Macdonald's opinion is that no worse representative of God the Everlasting Father could be found, whether it was Brahma the impersonal and attribute-less, or the distinct Brahma, who with Siva and Vishnu makes up the Hindu Triad, and whose worship was forbidden on account of his immoral character. "On the other hand," he continues, "we doubt whether out of all the ideals set before us among the so-called 330 millions of Hindu gods, there can be selected any whose character is more satisfactory to Brahmos, Christians or Mohammedans, or indeed to nineteenth-century ideals generally, than the character which the ancient Aryans of India gave to Agni—a character largely preserved among Hindus to the present day in their daily worship, among all vicissitudes and changes which Hindus underwent during the last three thousand years — the more remarkable as he is but seldom worshipped by or through a man-made image, as almost all the other gods are." Agni is fire in the three-fold form —as the sun in the heavens, as lightning in mid-air, and as the domestic hearth on earth. He is light, too, and more than light. In the words of the eloquent authoress of *Vedic India* (Mrs Zenaïde Ragozin), "Agni is light—the light which fills and pervades space —which has its highest abode in that eternal, mysterious world above the heavens, beyond space itself, where are the hidden sources of all things—the sanctuary, the navel of the universe, where Day and Night themselves, the unequal, ever-separated sisters, meet and kiss. From this supernal world Agni descends and manifests himself. He is 'born' or 'found' in the heavens as the sun, in the atmosphere as lightning, on the earth as fire. These are his three visible bodies or 'forms.' But he invisibly pervades, lies hidden in, all things."

A two-fold analysis of a very elaborate kind follows—first of

all that light, fire and the sun, stand for in the imagery of the Old and New Testaments, in hymnology and in Christian literature generally; and then of the qualities and offices attributed to Agni in the Vedas. Far more hymns are addressed to him than to any other deity except Indra; and he takes precedence over every other god in connection with sacrificial rites. He is supreme among the gods and immanent in the universe; the god of gods, the creator, yet appears as immortal among mortal men; the source of all blessings, and especially the giver of immortality; the great high priest, the prophet, captain, king, the hearer and answerer of prayer and the forgiver of sin. These descriptions, all given in the Vedas, lend themselves wonderfully to a comparison with the Lord Jesus Christ, alike as God and Man, as Prophet, Priest and King, and in so using them we do no dishonour to the Saviour. If wisely used, such comparisons should do good, by leading Hindus to see that their ancestors' ideal of the divine was realised in Jesus Christ. They have thrown away the kernel of divine truth, and kept the shell of allegory in which it was enclosed in their own scriptures.

A feature of all Dr Macdonald's writings is the abundant supply of interesting and apposite quotations. In the passage in this essay dealing with the use of "fire" in religious symbolism, he quotes a passage from that remarkable friend of his, Keshub Chunder Sen. On one occasion, addressing his congregation of Brahmos, he said: "If I ask thee, O self, in what creed wast thou baptised in early life? my soul answereth, 'In the baptism of fire'; I am a worshipper of the religion of fire. I am partial to the doctrine of enthusiasm. To me the state of being on fire is the state of salvation." [1]

Ancestor-Worship in India, an article written in 1891, seems to have been evoked by a very wild statement quoted by Mr Herbert Spencer, that "no Indo-European or Semitic nation, as far as we know, seems to have made a religion of the worship of the dead." Max Müller had replied that it seemed to him impossible that anybody who had ever opened a book on India should have made such an assertion. The whole social fabric of India, with its laws of inheritance and marriage, rested on a belief in the *manes*. Dr Macdonald collected much evidence to the same effect. Manu says that an oblation by Brahmans to their ancestors transcends an

[1] Compare Henry Martyn, "Now let me burn out for God."

oblation to the deities. In prayers in the Vedas, the protection of the fathers as well as the gods is invoked. The *pitri*-sacrifices, or offerings to ancestors, are quite distinct from the *deva*-sacrifices intended for the gods. A man's deceased relatives must be daily honoured by offerings and adoration, unless a *Nemesis* is to overtake the family. The extraordinary importance attached to the *sraddha* or funeral obsequies, is due to the same idea. The homage to the dead, in fact, is one of the most widely extended of all forms of religious devotion. It was practised in India long before the Aryan invasion, and is found far beyond the limits of Asia. Like saint-worship, it is inconsistent with a pure, simple theism. The creed of Protestant Christianity is almost the only one freed from this error. In this paper we have the particulars of a well-known Indian story. It was originally told by Dr Caldwell, in a lecture read before the Bombay Anthropological Society. An English officer died in Tinnevelly. The superstitious non-Aryans of the district believed that his spirit was infesting the place, and attributed this to the fact that no *sraddha* had been observed in his honour. They resolved to repair this omission, and sought to propitiate him with brandy and cigars, instead of the rice and spices usually offered on similar occasions.

Closely related to ancestor-worship is the *Joint Hindu Family System*, the subject of an article in 1887, suggested by the Tagore Law Lectures on that subject, by Professor K. K. Bhattacharjya. What constitutes a family, from the legal point of view? and what is a Hindu? are two interesting questions there discussed. The definition of a "family" (from *famulus*, a slave) as "a slave-holding group" no doubt held good in India, where slavery was not abolished till 1833. The slave in India had no right to hold property, but in that respect he was no worse off than the son or wife. According to Manu, all three were incapable of possessing property. In olden times, again, the father had absolute disposal of his son's person, including the power of sale or gift. The joint family is described as "a large group of persons, living within one enclosure, ordinarily taking their meals together—that is to say, the male members—having a common fund and common means of support, owning extensive landed property with herds and cattle, and probably slaves till slavery was abolished by the British; having also probably a common family idol whose worship is carried on out of the common funds, and in the same way perform-

ing the annual and occasional religious ceremonies in honour of their departed ancestors." Practically, the system is restricted to seven generations, or, in other words, the joint family is composed of persons whose common ancestor is not more remote than the seventh. Seven generations also constitute the limit of consanguinity within which marriage is not allowed.

But what is a *Hindu*? In his tract, *Is Hinduism a Religion?* Dr Macdonald had pointed out the great difficulty of defining a Hindu from the religious point of view. The Jains, for instance, were to all intents and purposes atheists. They discarded the Hindu scriptures; they acknowledged neither a Supreme Being nor any of the gods of Hinduism, great or small; they did not believe in the immortality of the soul. Yet they claimed to be Hindus, and were regarded as Hindus by the Government and by the Brahmans. The Tagore Law Lecturer found it almost equally difficult to find a legal definition. *Hindu* is not a Sanskrit word, it occurs nowhere in the Shastras, and there was never anything like a central government in India till the arrival of the Mohammedans. Professor Bhattacharjya's solution was that a Hindu's one sure method of de-Hinduising himself, of placing himself irrevocably beyond the pale of Hindu society, was to marry outside of his caste. Commenting on this, Dr Macdonald says that a Hindu can get dead drunk every day on the liquor his caste proscribes; he may eat of the unclean animal or of the divine cow; he may be sent to jail for theft or fraud; he may publicly profess himself to be an atheist, a Christian, or a Mohammedan, and yet may remain a Hindu. But if he marries another orthodox Hindu of a different caste, not all the expiatory rites of Hinduism can save him.

The old law was that a woman was no more entitled to own property than an insane person; but in time the daughter secured a footing through the influence of ancestor-worship. A man who had no son, but a daughter, made the daughter his heir if she became the mother of a son who could perform *sraddha* for his maternal grandfather. In course of time the daughters were admitted to a share of the family property equal to one-fourth of a son's share. There are a good many local variations in the law of property. In Bengal, where priestly influence was strongest, the father has absolute right over the property; elsewhere he is co-partner with his sons. Two tendencies are at work on the joint-

family system, one tending to disintegration, the other to conservation. Breaking up the family means the multiplication of religious ceremonies, so it is in the interests of the Brahmans to encourage it. Modern Hinduism consists largely in feeding and feeing Brahmans, and when a joint family splits up into half-a-dozen groups, the feeding and feeing are multiplied six-fold. On the other hand, the possession of some lucrative source of income, that cannot be divided, tends to keep a family together. There is an instance of this in Calcutta. A family of Hindus are owners of a very popular idol, which brings them an enormous income. The result is that the family has kept together till it numbers between four and five hundred souls. The difficulty of dividing the joint property often tends to the postponement of the break-up. On the other hand, the conditions of modern life and of public service make it more difficult now for male members of the family to remain at home; although a man does not necessarily leave the family by temporarily residing elsewhere. In many cases the joint family has developed into the village community.

A group of papers on *Narada*, on *Om and Amen*, on the *Gayatri*, and on *Chaitanya*, deal with later developments of Hinduism. That on *Narada* has the sub-title, *a Study in Hinduism*. Dr Macdonald once put the question to a large audience of Hindus, which of all the gods and goddesses, *rishis* (ancient saints and sages) and men, Hindus should follow and imitate? One Hindu answered "Narada," and to this the others seemed to consent. Who was Narada? He is often referred to in the *Mahabharata*, and in one passage described as follows: "Conversant with the Vedas and Upanishads, worshipped by the celestials, a perfect master of reconciling contradictory texts, as also of interpreting contraries by reference to differences in situation, ever desirous of humbling the celestials and Asuras [the demons who war with the gods] by fomenting quarrels among them, conversant with the science of war and treaty, proficient in making dispositions by judging of things not within direct ken, as also in maintaining of posts against the enemy, stratagems by ambuscades and reserves, possessed of these and numberless other accomplishments, the Rishi (Narada), having wandered over the different worlds, came into the *Sabha* (assembly)." In this great epic he figures as a contemporary of the events there recorded. But he also figures in the much more ancient Vedas as the author of several hymns, whose

aspirations are of a distinctly earthly kind, for cows and horses, good houses and plenty of food; and is likewise introduced to us as the writer of a very modern *Purana*, of a date later than the Mohammedan invasion. Intermediate between these widely separate periods, he is said to have composed the well-known Institutes on Law, which bear his name, about the fifth or sixth century of the Christian era; and about 800 A.D. his active pen produced a manual of Vaishnava ritual, the *Narada Pancha Ratra*. He is thus a sort of wandering Jew, or a Rip van Winkle, who either used to go to sleep for ages at a time, awaking now and again to a life of great literary activity, or a long-lived traveller through earth, heaven and hell, who in the course of his extensive journeys occasionally visited India at long intervals. Dr Macdonald suggests that English education has driven him from modern India, unless indeed he be Koot Hoomi, Madame Blavatsky's Mahatma, who, according to that lady, has been living in the Tibetan Himalayas for the last three thousand years or more. In the *Ramayan* (Griffith's translation) he is described as—

> "Sainted Narada, prince of those
> Whose lore in words of wisdom flows,
> Whose constant care and chief delight
> Were scripture and ascetic rite."

And again as—

> "Narada clear before whose eye
> The present, past and future lie."

Narada seems to have made the most of his opportunity as an explorer into unknown regions; his traveller's tales baffle competition. In the course of one speech he tells sixteen stories of as many different kings. To the first of the line Mahadeva (Siva) presented a golden plateau in the Himalayas. This same monarch presented all his furniture of solid gold, and his carriages of the same material, to the Brahmans, thus setting a good example which all his pious successors faithfully followed. One of them gave them as many cows as the number of rain-drops that ever fell from heaven to earth. The fifth king is known to fame as Rama. To the Brahmans he gave a thousand thousand damsels, seated upon cars, to each of which were yoked four steeds, and behind each car were a hundred elephants, all decked with gold. In Rama's day *rishis*, gods and men all lived together. No one died young. Flies and mosquitoes, beasts of prey and poisonous reptiles were

unknown. Every man lived a thousand years and had a thousand children. Rama's own reign extended to three thousand years. The worst of getting a reputation as a story-teller is the necessity of living up to it; by the time Narada reached his eleventh king, the number of royal wives increased to a hundred thousand, of each of whom were born a thousand princes. Such being Narada's description of the earthly kings in the golden age, it may well be believed that by his account the dwellings and state of the gods are on a corresponding scale of magnificence. Even the palace of Yama, the god of Death, the Indian Pluto, is a place by no means unattractive. There is, for one thing, a profusion of "sweet, juicy, agreeable and delicious edibles, that are licked, sucked and drunk." Be it noted that not only sinners among men, but all who die during the winter solstice as well, are condemned to serve the god Yama, but so pleasant is the life that a number of virtuous persons seem to choose it of their own accord. The mansion is filled with the sound of music, of laughter, and of the dance.

So great is the honour in which Narada is held that he is worshipped as a god, whose totem is the *dhenki*, an instrument for husking rice by pounding it in a hole in the ground. This *dhenki* itself, as the symbol of the god, is also worshipped on certain occasions, of which the more important are a marriage, a boy's investiture with the sacred thread, and the first giving of rice to a child. A rajah of Naladanga, in Bengal, once spent £20,000 in the worship of Narada's *dhenki*. Narada is also, like Mercury, the messenger of the gods; he is a great authority on science, and a moral and religious teacher of high repute. The quality of his teaching may be judged from one example from the *Ramayan*. On one occasion King Rama, charged with some misconduct by a Brahmin, whose little boy had died in a mysterious way, laid the matter before his counsellors. Narada told him that the explanation of the whole matter was that some Sudra was seeking to acquire religious merit, and to make his way to heaven by the practice of self-mortification, a way open only to Brahmins. Rama, on hearing this, at once set out to search for the presumptuous Sudra, and in course of time met a man corresponding to Narada's description, who admitted that he was a Sudra, and that he was trying to obtain salvation by self-mortification. Rama at once cut off his head, the gods applauded the deed, and the Brahmin's boy was restored to life.

Two very unamiable features in Narada's character are his propensity for fomenting quarrels among gods and men and his habit of cursing. Among Hindus the cry "Narada, Narada," is used as fuel to feed the fire of strife. Malediction was the common failing of the *rishis* as a class. They used to roam the country with their quivers full of curses, which they were always ready to discharge against each other and all who irritated them. Narada even cursed his own father, the god Brahma. The terrible words are found in the *Narada Pancha Ratra*: "Hearing his father's words, the Muni Narada became angry. He immediately cursed his father, saying, 'Thou shalt be unadored in the world. Thou shalt have no votaries. Thou shalt be a prey to unlawful lusts.'" Whether it is due to this curse or not, it is a fact that Brahma is not adored; to him no images or temples are consecrated, and no offerings made.

One of the most curious passages in all the literature concerning Narada is his admission that he learned the doctrine of faith and love from the white monotheists to the north-west of Mount Meru, a sacred mountain of Hindu mythology.

The pamphlet on the *Gayatri* was reprinted from the *Review* in 1882. The Gayatri is the most sacred text in the Hindu religion. For a long time it was held to be so sacred that no one but a Brahmin was allowed to read it or to hear it read or spoken, or to have any knowledge of it. It became known to Europeans in 1764, tnrough Sir William Jones, who procured a written copy of it from a *sanyasi*, or Hindu ascetic. In return for it he gave him all the money he had in the house, and he said he would have given ten times more if he had possessed so much. It is said that a Brahmin loses caste if he does not repeat this verse daily. It must be used in all the three daily Brahminical religious services, and in almost every other form of worship and sacrifice as well. Yet the verse, like the rest of the *Rig-Veda* from which it is taken, is of no intrinsic importance, but commonplace to a degree both in thought and language. It occurs in the course of a prayer and hymn of praise addressed to the Sun. There is some doubt about the correct rendering, but Colebrooke translated it: "Let us meditate on the adorable light of the Divine Ruler (*Savitri*), may it guide our intellects." Ram Mohun Roy declared that the Gayatri was monotheistic, but Dr Macdonald, with other competent scholars, could not admit this. If the context was studied, it was apparent

that *Savitri* was just another name for the Sun, and to other gods, Varuna, Indra, Mitra, or Soma, were accorded equal honour and adoration. There were references in the Vedas not only to gods many, but to goddesses, or wives of the gods, as well. The sanctity ascribed to the verse was purely artificial. It had become an "open sesame," a result quite possible on the theory that certain words had an inherent power for good or evil. The Church of Rome had traded on this belief in their use of formulas and signs, and Dr Macdonald grieved to observe a similar tendency in the Ritualistic party in the Church of England.

Then *Om and Amen*, published in 1889, informs us that *Om* is as sacrosanct as a syllable as the *gayatri* is as a verse. It is familiar in the sacred phrase of the Buddhists:—

"*Om mani padme hum.*"

"O the jewel lotus O."

The Sanskrit vowel *ō* is a diphthong formed from *ă* and *ŭ*; so that *om* is equal to *aum*. It has received innumerable explanations, one of the most popular being that each of its three letters represents one of the Hindu triad—Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. But it was a sacred exclamation long before this triad arose. It is said to be the most sacred word ever uttered by man, the highest name for the Deity, a term of power and mystery. It is used in all the services of the Brahmo Somaj, and all orthodox Hindus recite or mutter it every morning. Dr Macdonald's theory is that *om* originally simply meant "yes," and that it has become invested with so much potency by the same law that exalted the *gayatri* above all other texts. Professor Max Müller, to whom he wrote on the subject, replied: "Your explanation is perfectly right, and was given for the first time by Spiegel. As *oui* is originally *hoc illud*, so *om* seems a regular contraction of *avam*, which may have been an old demonstrative pronoun, corresponding to *idam*, *ayam*." Dr Macdonald goes on to say that the Hebrew *Amen* is in some respects a parallel, but it was not deified like *om* because the genius of the Hebrew language, unlike the Sanskrit, was not in favour of personifications and mystifications. The "Everlasting Yea" of *Sartor Resartus* is another illustration, but what threw most light on the matter was Dr Macdonald's recollection of the mystery attached to "Yes" and "No" when he began as a boy to learn English. "'Yes' seemed to be a most wonderful word. It

appeared so contradictory in its significations, so powerful, so mysterious, so utterly inexplicable, that if we little fellows had been at all disposed to regard any word as sacred or divine, that word would have been 'Yes,' and his wife would have been 'No.' The monkey, the ammonite fossil *shalgram* and the apple dumpling of George III. had nothing of the inexplicability and mysteriousness of 'Yes' and 'No.'"

Totemism in India, published in 1891, is a pamphlet of thirty-two pages, a reprint of two articles in the *Review* of the same year. Robertson Smith, in his *Religion of the Semites* and other writings, had given prominence to the view that totemism had been a universal element in primitive religion. Andrew Lang, Taylor, J. G. Frazer, and others, were working on the same subject. Dr Macdonald claimed no originality regarding this theory, but his extensive knowledge of the religious life of India, ancient and modern, enabled him to adduce many suggestive illustrations. Dr Macdonald seems to have accepted totemism as the explanation of the sacredness of the cow among the Hindus. The monkey, the snake, the horse (worshipped by the Gonds), the jackal, the tiger, the dog, the tortoise, the goose, certain fishes, the mouse, the rat, the boar, the ant, the soma plant, the sun—all worshipped more or less in India—were at one time totems.[1] Under the influence of Hinduism they came to be regarded as *avatars*, or incarnations of the deity.

A paper on *Chaitanya*, published in 1891, tells the wonderful story of that hero. He was an incarnation of Vishnu, and is therefore held in the highest esteem by the Vaishnavas, who constitute more than half of the whole population of Bengal. The two books recording his life which are regarded as authoritative, are *Chaitanya Charitamrita* by Krishna Das, and *Chaitanya Mangal* by Lochan Das. These books, which had recently been translated in part by the Rev. Lal Behari Day, were the basis of the paper.

Chaitanya was born in Nadia, a district north of Calcutta, in 1485. As a child he was precocious—once, for instance, when his mother gave him sweetmeats to eat he began to eat clay instead, and on being remonstrated with replied that the two were essentially the same; and on another occasion when his mother rebuked him for

[1] A totem is in most cases a species of animals, held sacred by a tribe which is called after the animal, and believes that the members of the tribe and of the totem species are all descended from a common animal ancestor.

having stood in a dirty place, and told him to go and wash himself clean in the Bhagirathi river, he refused to do so, on the ground that all places were alike, and that purity and impurity could only be predicated of the soul—but withal a mischievous young scamp. He was put through the usual course of instruction in grammar, rhetoric and poetry under an able teacher, and when his father died he became a schoolmaster. The fame of his learning attracted many pupils. He made a pilgrimage to Gaya, and began to study earnestly the *Sri Bhagavat*, the most popular *purana* of his day. He soon became engrossed in Krishna, and in "the riches of Krishna's love." He sometimes fell into fits of frenzied devotion (*prem pralap*, or fits of love), when he would fall to the ground, roll in the dust, weep, laugh and dance. Then he set himself definitely to proclaim the name of Krishna or Hari as that of the only deliverer of mankind. He spent whole nights, with his disciples, singing the praises of Krishna and his mistress Radha. His native Nadia began to resound with the cry of *Hari nama* and *Hari bol*. At the age of twenty-four he adopted the life of an ascetic, and leaving his own country travelled to Orissa, and took up his residence at Nilachal, between Puri and Cuttack. Thence he made a longer pilgrimage to Ramisseram, in the south, the spot where Rami threw a causeway across the straits and carried his troops over to the conquest of Ceylon. He visited all the places of religious interest on the way, and wherever he went he shouted "Hari bol," and the people who heard him responded "Hari bol." "In this manner," says Krishna Das, "did the people of the south country become Vaishnavas." No instructions had to be given, no doctrines taught, no ceremonies practised, no duties enjoined. Every man who repeated the words "Hari bol" was reckoned a convert. Returning to Nilachal, Chaitanya dwelt there for a time. The great idol of Jagannath filled him with speechless delight; he would sit for hours gazing at it with rapture. At one festival the car of the god stuck fast in the course of the procession. Innumerable multitudes had exerted their united strength in vain, the gigantic elephants of the Rajah of Puri had also failed, and the grief of the pilgrims knew no bounds. Then Chaitanya put his head to the car, and it moved along amid rapturous shouts of "Hari bol." Four years later Chaitanya made a pilgrimage to Brindabun, in the north-west, the scene of Krishna's most famous exploits. The scenes in the course of this triumphal progress surpassed all

previous experiences. As he marched through the forests he charmed the most rapacious beasts with "Hari bol." Herds of tigers, elephants, rhinoceroses and wild boars made way for him. He struck his foot one day against a sleeping tiger. At the sound of "Krishna, Krishna," it rose up and danced for joy. Another day, as he was bathing in a river, he was surprised by a flock of intoxicated elephants. Throwing water at them, he said, "Repeat the name of Krishna"; on which all the elephants shouted "Krishna, Krishna," and, moved by faith and love, danced and sang. Again, as he went along singing the praises of his god, the deers and tigers gathered round him to hear. "Hari bol," he cried to them; whereupon the tigers and deers stood up and embraced each other and danced for joy, to the wonder of all beholders. He passed through Benares and Allahabad, making converts there as everywhere, and when he came to Mathura, the sight of the birthplace of Krishna so affected him that he fell down insensible. On recovering he wandered in a dream of delight among the scenes of the wanton god's adventures. The cows of Mathura recognised in him the incarnation of Krishna; the birds of the twelve groves, which still breathe the name of Krishna and Radha, came to perch on his hands; the peacocks displayed their plumage for his approval; and the flowers fell off their stalks at his feet and worshipped him. All nature became vocal with the praises of Chaitanya. He returned to Nilachal, and there spent the rest of his life. It was not a long one, for he was drowned in the sea when about forty-three years of age. His delight had been to imagine that he was walking among the groves of Brindabun, bathing in the Jumna, or dancing with the shepherdesses and milkmaids of the Indian Arcadia. Gazing one day on the resounding main, he fancied it was the Jumna, and that the milkmaids of Brindabun were swimming therein. Eager to join in their frolics, he jumped into the sea, whence his corpse was dragged ashore that night in a fisherman's net. It is evident, says Dr Macdonald, that he drowned himself in a fit of religious madness. Some of his followers say that his disciples gathered round the corpse and by shouting "Hari bol" restored it to life, but as they add that Chaitanya very soon afterwards disappeared from the world, much importance need not be attached to the story. Krishna Das' biography closes with this incident.

All this may seem to the Western mind very poor stuff. So it is, but it is the stuff upon which some forty or fifty millions of our

fellow-creatures in Bengal alone are daily trying to feed their souls. There is no doubt that Chaitanya was, according to his dim light, an intensely earnest spirit, loving, devout and self-sacrificing. His religion, too, was a missionary religion, a rare thing in the Hinduism of his day. He tried to make converts, contrary to the requirements of caste. He gave a high place to love in his religion, but it was a love which, not being founded on knowledge and holiness, has degenerated into superstition and sensualism. His conception of God must have been low indeed, when to his mind Krishna was God's representative among men; but it was infinitely superior to that entertained by his fellow-countrymen, whose *Shastras* were the Tantras.

A very useful summary of Dr Macdonald's opinions regarding the most recent phases of belief is to be found in the paper he wrote for the Madras Decennial Conference in 1902—*Religious Movements amongst Hindus in Bengal during the Decade*, 1891-1901, printed in the Appendix to the Report. It is not necessary to reproduce his remarks on the agitation against the Age of Consent Bill, but another movement which he associates with it—that for the protection of cows—has hitherto escaped mention. In the year 1893 the anti-cow-killing crusade was assuming alarming dimensions. Emotional appeals were being scattered broadcast, in which the feelings of Hindus were worked upon by sensational descriptions of "the gurgling voice of the dying groans of her whose ambrosial milk had fed them in infancy," and who cried to them for protection with a voice "powerful enough to rend heaven and earth, to split the unyielding rock, to hush up the hissing wind and to silence the roaring ocean." Although a good deal was made of the utilitarian argument, the real basis of the movement, as of everything else in Hinduism, was religious. The cow in her own person is divine, a goddess, Bhagavati, the mother of the Universe. The agitation soon took the form of a threatened fanatical attack upon Mohammedans. Leagues were formed all over the country, and contributions were made compulsory. Each household was directed to set apart at each meal a pinch (*chutki*) of food stuff for each member of the family. This was to be sold, and the proceeds given to help the propaganda against the slaughtering of cows. The eating of food without the setting apart of this portion was declared to be an offence equal to that of eating cow's flesh. A memorial was presented to Government, asking it to make all cow-killing

illegal. This gave the Viceroy, Lord Lansdowne, an opportunity for speaking out his mind. He told the memorialists that they need not imagine that the Government was going, under the pressure of such an agitation, to take away from any section of the people rights which they possessed under the law, or to allow one creed to persecute or to terrorise another. They need not suppose that the slaughter of kine would ever be put a stop to, and any disturbance of the peace would be put down by force. From this time the agitation began to languish and its funds to dwindle. By the end of the decade it was moribund, if not altogether dead.

An agitation on a smaller scale against monkey-killing was more successful. The monkey is a god, in a special manner the village god, and also as the great friend of Rama an object of much gratitude and affection. But when there are too many of him he becomes a nuisance. So it came to pass that the ratepayers of Puri (Jagannath), the most sacred place in Bengal, petitioned their municipality to take some measures to rid the place of the swarms of monkeys, which were most destructive to property, and when attacking in close formation, as they sometimes did, even dangerous to human life and limb. The facts were indisputable, and the municipality, in its corporate capacity, did what not one of its members, who were good Hindus, would have dared to do on his individual responsibility—they hired a man to shoot the monkeys at eight rupees a month. In a few days seven hundred monkeys were killed, and the country was ablaze. Then the strange spectacle was seen of the European magistrate and the Commissioner of the Province begging the Hindu municipality to stay their hand. But it was in vain; the municipality, with a majority of the ratepayers, and, strange to say, of the local pundits too, at their back, were obdurate. It was not until the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Woodburn, came all the way from Darjeeling to Puri and passed an order on the spot, that the monkey-killing was stopped. The news as it was wired over the country caused boundless enthusiasm, and monster meetings of Hindus pledged themselves to pray to their gods to vouchsafe long life and prosperity to Sir John Woodburn. Still Dr Macdonald regarded it as a fact worth noting that the local Hindus of Puri were prepared, in defence of their own fruit gardens, to defy the Hindu world. It was also remarkable that although the rat as the *vahan* or carrier of Ganesh, the elephant-headed

god of success, had many worshippers in Calcutta, the order to destroy them at the time of the plague hardly elicited a protest, although at the same time it *was* suggested that the rat, as the inhaler of sewer gas and bad air, was a useful sanitary institution, and that therein lay the secret of the reverence in which he was held by the old *rishis*.

Dealing with the missionary activities of modern Hinduism, Dr Macdonald disposes of Mrs Besant by a quotation from *Reis and Rayyat*, a leading Hindu journal of Calcutta: "When an English lady of decent culture professes to be an admirer of Tantric mysticisms and Krishna worship, it behoves every well-wisher of the country to tell her plainly that sensible men do not want her eloquence for gilding what is rotten. . . . If the Upanishads have a charm for Mrs Besant, she is quite welcome to proclaim her views on the subject. But the Upanishads do not form any part of the religion of the Hindus as it is found in their every-day life. In actual practice they are either Saivites, or Saktas, or Krishna worshippers. In fact, abomination worship is the main ingredient in modern Hinduism."

In connection with a recent revival of Hindu asceticism among educated Bengalis, Dr Macdonald tells the following story:—

"The swarming of these yellow-robed, English-educated mendicants is a characteristic Hindu movement of the last decade. While standing a few months ago at a street corner waiting for a tram-car, I saw one of these walking merrily towards me, playing his cymbals. I gazed at him as he was passing, and, attracted by something in the face which struck me, I inquired from a lad standing at my elbow who the man was, and got the answer, 'A failed B.A., sir.' The *sanyasi* heard my question, and turned round and addressed me, 'Not knowing me, argues yourself unknown.'"[1]

As for the Vedantic revival, of which so much has been heard, Dr Macdonald is very doubtful if it has made a very deep impression. There is a scholarship in connection with the Calcutta University, amounting in value to five thousand rupees (£333) a year,

[1] In one of his Australian stories Rolf Boldrewood tells of a traveller in one of the colonies who, coming to a place where three roads met, was uncertain which to take. Seeing a member of one of the aboriginal tribes, rolled up in a blanket, lying at the foot of a tree, he roused and asked him which road led to a certain place. "*In medio tutissimus ibis*," was the response.

which was founded by a Bengali gentleman for the encouragement and promotion of "Sanskrit learning and Vedantic study." The most learned Vedantist in Calcutta is paid four hundred rupees a month, in order that he may devote his whole time to Vedantic study and to lecturing to a class at least twice a week. These classes are limited to the twice-born, for the lecturer, as an orthodox Brahmin, could not expound the sacred text to any others; but at least six lectures are delivered every year open to the public. The trust also provides for an annual examination, and for a gold medal to be given to the candidate who stands first. Dr Macdonald took the trouble to go to the University one day to see with his own eyes if young Bengal was eagerly taking advantage of this splendid opportunity of acquiring Vedantic wisdom. He found the lecturer with two students at his feet, just double the attendance of the previous day. The gold medal had not yet been conferred, because nobody had come forward to the examination. Even the lectures had sometimes to be given up, as no one came to listen to them, and the classes had often to be closed for the same reason. In fact, the lecturer had a short time before applied to the Syndicate for leave to go to his home in the country, as he had been coming day after day to his class, to find no pupils. The leave was granted.

Still, the great literary activity that this revival had given rise to is not denied, and is undeniable. Dr Macdonald's analysis of the literature of the decade is too detailed to be reproduced here. It is characterised generally by "an anxiety on the part of the Hindus to possess a consistent code of religion and morality, based on rationalistic principles." Even the rationalising of the *Puranas* is undertaken, for it is realised that only in this way can they retain the veneration in which they have always been held by the masses. The boldness of the Neo-Hinduism movement may be guessed from the fact that a native magistrate and collector, who was at one time a temporary professor in the Duff College, has written a work to prove that the Hindu doctrine of incarnation is not opposed to science, and that the so-called incarnation of Chaitanya—now generally known as Lord Gouranga — rests on evidence more complete and authentic than that of the Incarnation of Christ. Then the author of another work, *Comparative Studies in Vaishnavism and Christianity*, contends that Vaishnavism, Vishnuvitism, or Chaitanyism, "is destined to liberalise the Christian idea of the Godhead and man's relation to God."

He notices the tendency among the Hindu castes to force their way up in the social scale, in many cases with the efficient help of education; the levelling down of the Brahmins, who are losing one by one their exclusive, time-honoured privileges; the departure of the isolation that once characterised Hinduism; the Hinduising of the animistic or aboriginal tribes—often the work of degraded and mercenary Brahmins, but always tending to the liberalising of Hinduism; the effect of Christianity and of Mohammedanism, too, on Hinduism apart from conversion, and the counter-effect of Hinduism upon a weak Christianity, seen especially in Roman Catholic missions, and so marked that census enumerators in some cases found it difficult to say whether the people were Hindus or Christians; the uneasy, restless, discontented condition of the Hindu population generally; and the comparatively rapid increase of the Mohammedans, who have advanced from being half a million behind the Hindus in the whole province of Bengal in 1872 to being two millions and a quarter ahead of them in 1901. "The old gods are dying" is the burden of the closing paragraph. "The so-called Revival is but the cry of a perishing faith, the struggles of a dying cause. An Indian proverb says that under the British Raj the Hindu gods have gone away to the mountains. They, it is felt, have not helped much in these days of plague and famine; and it is a feeling which is daily growing in strength; and will continue to grow until the day dawn and the day-star arise in all hearts."

The Tantras occupied so large a part of Dr Macdonald's time during the last years of his life, that they cannot be easily separated from the narrative that remains to be told; but it will be our best plan to anticipate events to a slight degree and include them in this chapter. When Dr Macdonald returned from furlough at the close of 1900, he was asked by Dr John Murdoch of Madras—the news of whose death, at the age of eighty-five, after sixty years' work in the East, has been received as these pages are being written—to undertake this work. Dr Murdoch's ambition was to inaugurate the new century by a combined attack on all the powers of darkness in India. The Tantras, he said, were the largest unexplored region left in Hinduism; Bengal was their stronghold; and Dr Macdonald was the man to do the work. A Tantra, it may be explained, is a Sanskrit work, generally purporting to be a dialogue between the god Siva and his wife in one of her numerous forms. The Tantras inculcate the worship of goddesses,

each goddess being the *sakti* (or power) of her husband. They are thus the sacred books of the sakta sects. The goddess worshipped in Bengal, where the Tantras are in most general use, is usually the wife of Siva in one of her many manifestations as Parbati, Kali, Durga, Uma, Bhawani, etc. On the other hand, all Hindu authorities declare that modern popular Hinduism, whether Saiva or Vaishnava, is in its observances altogether Tantric.

The task which Dr Macdonald undertook in connection with these Tantras, was unfinished at the time of his death. Mr J. N. Farquhar, M.A., of the Young Men's Christian Association, Calcutta, was asked to examine the large mass of papers which Dr Macdonald left, and to prepare a note on them which might be of use to anyone who might be led to resume the investigation and exposition of one of the most mysterious and forbidding phases of Hinduism. He very kindly agreed to this request, and furnished the following note :—

Dr Macdonald's Work on the Tantras.

The Tantras are a vast wilderness of books. They have not been studied by any great European scholar. Very few of them have been published, and fewer still translated into English. Yet they exercise an almost boundless influence in India, and especially in Bengal. Dr Macdonald wished to take a general survey of this field, so that scholars, missionaries and the general public might get to know with certainty the contents of this great literature. As Dr Macdonald was neither a Sanskrit nor a Bengali scholar himself, he had to get the facts placed before him in English. The following seems to have been the plan on which he worked :—

(a) *He sought to get to know what Tantras exist.* With this in view he wrote letters to many libraries and Sanskrit scholars throughout the country for information ; he consulted many works on Sanskrit manuscripts, and made hundreds of notes on Tantric manuscripts. All this labour enabled him to compile long lists of Tantras.

(b) *He collected texts* and *translations* of Tantras, and *essays* dealing with the subject.

(c) *He induced a number of missionaries to undertake to read each a Tantra* in the original or in a vernacular translation, and to send to him either a translation or an abstract of it. A little manuscript book, in which he kept notes about those friends who had under-

taken to work along with him, is among his papers. Several of these friends made considerable progress with the work, and sent Dr Macdonald bulky manuscripts. The following are among his papers :—

1. Translation of the *Yogini Tantra*, by the Rev. W. Douglas Monro, M.A., Ranaghat. Beautifully typewritten.
2. Translation of the *Khamdhenu Tantra*, by the Rev. W. Douglas Monro, M.A., Ranaghat. Also typewritten.
3. Translation of the *Mantra Kosha*, by the Rev. W. Douglas Monro, M.A., Ranaghat. Also typewritten.
4. Translation of the introduction to the *Tantra Kalpadruma*, translated from the Bengali by the Rev. Herbert Anderson, Calcutta.
5. An abstract of *Saktananda Tarangani*, by the Rev. Herbert Anderson, Calcutta.
6. Translation of a large part of the *Tantra-sara*, by the Rev. W. MacCulloch, Chinsurah.
7. A continuation of the above, by the Rev. T. K. Chatterjea, Calcutta.
8. Thirteen pages of typewritten notes on the *Sarada-Tilaka-Tantra*, by the Rev. Arthur H. Ewing, Ph.D., Allahabad. These notes were published in the Journal of the American Oriental Society for 1902, pp. 65-75. A Reprint is amongst the papers.
9. A few pages of a manuscript English translation of a Tantric work by the Rev. A. Campbell, D.D., Pokhuria.

These manuscripts would be of great service to anyone wishing to study Tantric literature.

(d) He *studied* every translation of a Tantric work he could find, and every article or essay on the subject also. He made copious notes and indices, so as to help him in his reading.

(e) From time to time he published articles or pamphlets on various Tantric questions. The following is a list of those articles and pamphlets, so far as they have been ascertained :—

1. *The Saktas and Tantras.* Pamphlet.
2. Letter to the *Epiphany* on the Saktas.
3. *An Unexplored Field of Hinduism*, in the United Free Church *Missionary Record*, April 1901, pp. 166-7.
4. *The Government Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in Bengal*, in the *Calcutta University Magazine*, November 1901.

5. *What is a Tantra? Indian Witness*, 25th April 1901.
6. *Whether Tantra or Veda in Bengal?* Pamphlet.
7. *Tantra Literature. Calcutta Review*, October 1901.
8. *The Sakta Religion and the Female Sex.* Pamphlet.
9. *Sin and Salvation from Sin as taught in the Tantras. Indian Witness.* Republished as a Pamphlet.
10. *Drink, Drunkenness and Flesh, from the Tantric point of view.* Pamphlet.
11. *The Tantra on Idolatry. Indian Witness*, 4th April 1901.
12. *The Making of Books à la Tantra. Indian Witness*, 17th July 1902.
13. *Paramhansa Siva Narayan Swami. Indian Witness*, 26th September 1901.
14. *The Tantra in Mysore and South India. Harvest Field*, August 1901.
15. *The Tantra in Rajputana. Calcutta Review.*
16. *The Tantra in the United Provinces and Oudh. Indian Evangelical Review*, October 1901.
17. *The Tantra in the Bombay Presidency. Indian Evangelical Review*, January 1902.
18. *The Tantra in Gujerat, Central Provinces, Rajputana and Kashmir. Indian Standard*, June 1902.
19. *The Tantra in the Panjab. Indian Standard*, 16th January 1902.
20. *Tantric Sanskrit Buddhistic Literature of Nepal. Indian Standard*, 16th June 1902.
21. *The Kali Yuga and the Tantra. Indian Witness*, 11th April 1901.
22. *Two Tantric Initiations: Diksha, Avadhuta. Indian Witness*, 31st July 1902.
23. *Abhiskeka Ceremony. The National Magazine*, July 1902.
24. *Kamrup and Gauhati. Indian Evangelical Review*, April 1901. Republished as a Pamphlet.
25. *Magic, Sorcery, Astrology and Kindred Superstitions.* Pamphlet.
26. *Kamadhenu Tantra on the Alphabet.* Pamphlet.
27. *The Sect of the Vallabhacharjyas. Indian Evangelical Review*, January 1903.
28. *Siva in the Tantra. Indian Witness*, May 1901.

The following are in manuscript, and probably were never published :—

1. *Siva Tantra: a Review.*
2. *Phallic Rites.*

Most of the texts and printed translations of Tantras gathered by Dr Macdonald were dispersed, when his books were sold after his death. The nine manuscript translations by missionaries described above, and also all Dr Macdonald's own manuscript notes on Tantras, have been handed over to the Rev. W. MacCulloch of the United Free Church of Scotland Mission, Chinsurah. Dr Macdonald's notes on Sanskrit manuscripts are in the care of Mr J. N. Farquhar, M.A., 86 College Street, Calcutta.

In addition to the papers mentioned by Mr Farquhar, the list of Dr Macdonald's publications prepared for Dr Murdoch in 1901 contains the names of two pamphlets on the Tantras—*Devi Mahatmya, as in the Markandeya Purana*, issued as a reprint from the *Indian Evangelical Review* of April 1901, and described in the list referred to as a Sakta text; and *Rudhiradhya*, translated from the *Kalika Purana* by W. C. Blaquire, Esq., and edited and annotated by K. S. M. This was reprinted in pamphlet form from the *Indian Evangelical Review* of July 1901, and is likewise described as a Tantric or Sakta text. Another pamphlet hitherto unmentioned is *The Atharva Veda on Witchcraft.* The title suggests connection with that investigation into the black arts which formed part of the study of the Tantras, but the date of publication precludes this view. It was reprinted in pamphlet form from the *Indian Evangelical Review* of July 1897.

The foregoing account of Dr Macdonald's literary labours does not, it must be repeated, profess to be by any means complete. It may be taken, however, as fairly representative, and it is sufficient to prove that he was able in his day to accomplish an exceptionally large amount of solid and useful work with his pen. It was work which seldom laid claim to exact scholarship, and afforded few opportunities for original research. The debt he owed to the Sanskrit scholars who have made the ancient Indian classics accessible to the English reader, and also to the vernacular-speaking missionaries who kept him informed

of religious movements among the masses of the uneducated people, he was ever ready to acknowledge. He was content, for the most part, to be a gleaner in the fields of Oriental lore, following in the footsteps of the more erudite reapers as they gathered their rich harvest of grain. But he was at it early and late, bearing the heat and burden of the long Indian day, toiling while others were resting; and the sheaf he brought home in the evening, like the ephah of barley that Ruth displayed to the wondering eyes of Naomi, compels our admiration and our gratitude.

Much of the work, again, was not of a kind to endure, but it served its purpose as truly as the scaffolding is necessary to the builder, although forming no part of the permanent structure.

Much of his writing was done on the spur of necessity, and in the heat of controversy. He took no pains to elaborate his style, but his industry and perseverance knew no bounds. His reading was wide and careful, and he had the knack of laying his hand on what he wanted. He understood, too, to a rare and remarkable degree, the class for whom he wrote; and in controversy with Hindus no man ever surpassed him in the art of telling the blunt truth without wounding susceptible feelings or incurring personal hostility.

His literary work was long and toilsome, but it was not of the kind to bring him either fame or wealth. It may be doubted if his many publications, whose aggregate circulation must be reckoned in hundreds of thousands, left him a penny richer in the end. His earlier educational books were very likely a source of profit, but this must have been far more than counterbalanced by the many tracts and pamphlets he published at his own expense and distributed broadcast. For Christ's sake and the Gospel's was the motive and the inspiration of his literary labours, and therein lay his reward.

CHAPTER XVIII

PERSONAL CHARACTER

"A life on the ocean wave, a life in the woods, a life in the mountains or in the clouds, may be fine to dream and sing of; but the only life out of which genuine heroism and poetry comes is that which is spent on this solid prosaic earth in the lowly work of doing good."—A. B. BRUCE.

"We cannot anticipate or analyse the power of a pure and holy life; but there can be no doubt about its reality, and there seems to be no limit to its range. . . . Surely there is no power in the world so unerring or so irrepressible as the power of personal holiness. . . . In this strange and tangled business of human life, there is no energy that so steadily does its work as the mysterious, unconscious, silent, unobtrusive, imperturbable influence which comes from a man who is done with all self-seeking."—FRANCIS PAGET.

"You are not very holy if you are not very kind."—ANDREW A. BONAR.

IT was as a controversialist that Dr Macdonald became widely known during the early years of his life in Calcutta. It has already been mentioned that his favourite teacher was Principal Cunningham of the New College, Edinburgh, a man who left a life-long stamp on many of the gifted students who passed through his hands. We find among his papers an extract, copied out from Principal Rainy's Life of that divine, on the question of controversy. Evidently Dr Macdonald regarded it as a thoroughly satisfactory expression of his own views and sentiments. It runs: "He maintained also that there was such a thing as an unscriptural longing for peace and unity, and that controversial discussion on behalf of the truth, when necessary, is one of the great and leading duties of those who would serve Christ's Church. Yet with him the truth was far more than the combat. The impulse and capacity to contend were indeed strong in him, when that which he deemed true was assailed; nor can we doubt that in the conflict he drank delight in battle, as every good fighter must. But still this grew out of his desire to win his way to truth, to keep it when he found it,

to vindicate it for others as well as for himself. Rest in possession was better than conflict."

Dr Macdonald may often have been unwilling to enter into the fray, but once the battle began he threw away his scabbard. Traditions linger in Calcutta of discussions in the old days that were carried on with a vehemence to which, for better or for worse, we are strangers in these later times. On one occasion, it is said, he was compelled to beat a retreat from a meeting of Hindus with whom he had been debating on some point of difference; but mounting his buggy, which was waiting at the door, he continued to address the crowd that had followed him—and helped him—out of the hall, from the middle of the street. Those were the days, by the way, when, according to his own confession, he used to "drive like Jehu," unmindful of the fact that that sanguinary monarch was accustomed to more elbow room than the streets of Calcutta afforded. Having broken his arm and almost killed his wife and child in one smash, he learned to moderate his horsemanship; and in controversy likewise he came more and more, as the years went by, to appreciate the truth of the proverb that "soft and fair go far." Still, to the end he was fond of contrasting the intolerance of Christianity with the toleration of Hinduism, the narrowness of the former with the liberality of the latter. Christianity, he said, was intolerant because it was true, Christians *were* narrow, in so far as they regarded their own as the one perfect religion, and desired all men to adopt it to the exclusion of all others. Hinduism was tolerant and liberal, because it was indifferent to religious truth and falsehood, and was utterly unconcerned with humanity beyond its own pale. It was not missionary, because it had no message for mankind. It was a good sign of Hinduism when it became aggressive, because it showed that it was becoming imbued with the spirit of Christianity.

During the controversy on child marriage he had a long correspondence with a European missionary who professed sympathy with the position taken up by some of the Bengali Christians, that as marriage was itself an institution divinely ordained for all mankind, every form of marriage ceremony sanctioned by local custom ought to be regarded as sacred and inviolable. "If you find that I am labouring under a mistake," he writes in one of the many long letters in which he tried to combat this view, "as a brother in the Lord put me right, or at least try to." The reservation in

this sentence is significant of much, as Carlyle would say. The attempts that were made to "put him right," once he was convinced that he was already right, did not often succeed.

The narrowness of his early training (when his mother heard of his being nearly shipwrecked in the Irish Sea, she feared it was the result of his sympathy with the unionist party in the Church) probably lent an asperity to the conflicts of his youth; but a liberalising process set in from the very beginning of his missionary life and continued to grow, till the day broke and the shadows fled, widening at once his intellectual horizon and his spiritual sympathies. Young missionaries who followed him to India twenty or thirty years after he had left the schools, were amazed to find him so liberal and so modern in his theological views. Yet he used to say that he had been brought up to doubt if either sound doctrine or true godliness was to be found anywhere beyond the Highlands of Scotland, and even there outside the membership of the Free Church. He travelled far from this extreme before the day was done. "There is nothing like a heathen land," wrote Sir Herbert Edwardes, one of India's soldier-saints, many years ago, "for drawing Christians together. Differences about bishops look very small under the shadow of an idol with twelve heads." The almost inevitable tendency of missionary life is to make a narrow man broader and a broad man narrower, in each case for his good. It makes one narrower, in a sense, by demonstrating, every day and everywhere, the immeasurable superiority of the Christian religion to any other; it broadens by giving us a truer mental perspective, by emphasising what is fundamental and minimising what is accidental, and presenting or suggesting a more comprehensive view of the purposes of God in His dealings with men. All this is very apparent to anyone who is in a position to study the history of Dr Macdonald's work in India. He grew steadily in true catholicity and charitableness, and few men ever emancipated themselves more firmly than he did from sectarian prejudice, or taught themselves more successfully the lesson of appreciating the good in those who differed from themselves. Yet his affection for his own country and his own Church, while it became more discriminating, did not grow less fervent. Nowhere was there a more patriotic Highlander or a more loyal Free Churchman to be found.

His brother Donald was a keen theologian, and more conservative in his views than Kenneth. On one occasion he seems to

have written to him criticising a writer in the *Indian Evangelical Review*, who belonged to the Keswick school. Dr Macdonald replies: "H., as you say, is certainly off the rails, at least *our rails*, but does infinitely greater good than thousands who are on the rails. He is one of the most laborious and honoured of Indian missionaries. Many who are on the rails seem to be there just to block them against others." To the last he was always ready to assert, maintain and defend what he believed to be the truth against all comers; but we may discern in his writings a growing approximation to what Gladstone called the laws of knightly tournament—"a studious desire to interpret the adversary in the best sense his words will fairly bear, to avoid whatever widens the breach, and to make the most of whatever tends to narrow it." And throughout his long life he engaged in no public controversy in which he could not have used the words which Charles Kingsley puts into the mouths of the Crusaders :—

> "Our sires, in the youth of the ages,
> Swept westward with fire and with blood;
> But *we* come to the East on a better bequest,
> We fight for the Kingdom of God."

If there was one respect in which he did not grow, it was in kind-heartedness. That tender plant in the garden of the virtues seemed, in his case, to blossom very early and never fade. From the first he was ever the willing helper of all who were in distress. The under dog had always a friend in him. He would take infinite pains to help anyone who appealed to him, if he could possibly do so. This was known, and most men would soon have been soured by the way in which his kindness and good-nature were often abused; but these experiences never seemed to make him less generous in the expenditure of his time, his money or his labour on behalf of needy applicants. In fact, it has been whispered that he was known so generally to be the refuge of those whom everyone else had ceased to befriend, that in business circles a letter of recommendation from him was regarded rather as a disqualification in a candidate than otherwise. Certain it is that a man must have gone very far astray indeed before Dr Macdonald regarded him as no longer deserving of another chance. "Despairing of no man" was a lesson which he had read in the Gospel long before the Revised Version made it clear.[1] Young Bengalis would come to

[1] Luke vi. 35, *margin*; "never despairing" in text.

him asking him to secure situations for them; he would not just dismiss them with a letter to some employer he knew, but would often spend hours down town interviewing heads of firms with a view to finding suitable openings. Then the same youths would sometimes return in a few weeks—or their mothers would bring them—to ask if, as he had done so much for them, he could not do a little more. Their present situation was a very good one, but then he was their father and mother, and could easily get them a better one if he tried.

In such a case we find him going in person to negotiate for such an applicant a release from the appointment he had secured for him in one firm, and an admission to a more lucrative billet somewhere else. A poor widow calls on him to tell him of the insanitary surroundings of her house, about which all her complaints to the proper authorities have been in vain. That means a visit to the municipal offices, to interview the deputy chairman or some other official. The said official very likely turns out to be an old student, and that affords an opportunity for a word in season. A babu calls to ask him to help him to settle his disputes with his wife's relations; another to beg him to use his influence to secure better lighting for the street in which he lives; a third requests him to petition the firm, whom he serves as a clerk, to give him leave on account of his wife's illness. The people of an adjacent district send a deputation to him to complain of the scarcity of water, and he sends their petition on to their landlord's manager. Sometimes longstanding family disputes are amicably settled in his study, after hours of tedious discussion. In one case of which we have particulars, one of the parties is an old paralytic, who is carried into the room on a bed. An agreement having been come to, two thousand rupees are paid down in cash in the presence of Dr Macdonald, who, to make assurance doubly sure, forthwith heads a procession to the Registrar's office, to see the deed of settlement signed, attested and registered. All these are actual cases taken almost at random, from a very brief period of time in his diary. His only complaint was that so few applied to him for the help they required most of all, and which he was most anxious to give them. They seemed to come seeking everything except the one thing needful. "Had a number of calls this morning, all of them on purely selfish and worldly grounds." So he writes in his diary one day, with a touch of weariness. Missionaries all over India, and many from beyond it, consult him

about all sorts of things, sometimes asking him to look out second-hand books for them in the bazaar, to verify facts, to supply references, to contribute to some periodical (a request *very* seldom refused), or to give them his advice in personal matters, temporal or spiritual. A lady in America is making a collection of native musical instruments, and asks him to send her all he can find in Calcutta, with directions about the way they are used—and he does it.

For some years before Dr Macdonald died, we used to receive, at our own mission station in the Santal country, 240 miles from Calcutta, a visit once a year from an old Brahmin, an overseer under the local government, on his periodical tour of road-inspection. In 1903 he appeared, much broken down, a grief-stricken man. His wife, to whom he was devotedly attached, had died of plague since his former visit. He showed us a letter of sympathy he had received from Dr Macdonald. Did he know Dr Macdonald? we asked. No; he had never met him, or even seen him; he was an orthodox Hindu by religion, as well as a Brahmin by caste. But it was to Dr Macdonald he seemed naturally to turn in the day of sorrow, for consolation he failed to find in his own creed. Had the letter Dr Macdonald sent to him, a complete stranger, been written to an intimate friend, it could not have been more kindly worded. It need hardly be added that it urged the Brahmin to seek help and comfort where he himself had never failed to find it, in the love of God revealed in Jesus Christ.

Charity may fulfil the law, but it sometimes breaks the rules. More than once Dr Macdonald got into difficulty through an excess of that spirit—as most people would judge—which believeth all things, and hopeth all things. Twice the trouble was with the University authorities, when he was in college work. In one case he had sent up for examination a student, who, it turned out, had been expelled from a college in Benares before he joined the Free Church Institution in Calcutta. The rule was that a student applying for admission to any college affiliated to the University, must produce a certificate from the Principal of the last college he had attended. Dr Macdonald had written to the Principal in Benares about this lad, but had received no reply. He considered that he had in this way fulfilled the spirit of the law, especially as the student had produced very good testimonials from his former professors. He was by no means prepared to admit that the rule was absolute. If a student

were to be expelled from the Sanskrit College, for instance, because he had become a Christian, he would have no hesitation in admitting him to the Duff College, certificate or no certificate. Although Dr Macdonald had in this case given the student a certificate which enabled him to enter for the examination, he was unable through illness to appear, and the matter was allowed to drop. In another case Dr Macdonald had signed a similar certificate for a student, a European, accepting his own uncorroborated statement regarding his attendance at another college from which, as it afterwards turned out, he had been expelled for misconduct. In this case he frankly admitted that he had done wrong, as he had discovered too late that the youth was altogether untrustworthy. On another occasion he took up the case of a Bengali Christian widow, who had been refused an annuity from the Family Pension Fund, on the ground that her husband had been in arrears in the payment of his premiums at the time of his death. That, of course, was the rule, but he thought it should be interpeted in a charitable spirit, and that exceptions should be made in necessitous cases. He made a brave fight for the widow, with what success does not appear. His action in the case of the Ripon College dispute was actuated by the same spirit, except that there he pled, not so much for charity, as for fair-play.

He was not without a saving sense of humour, and could both tell and enjoy a good story. He once caught a native red-handed in the act of cutting off a dog's tail. "What are you doing?" he asked indignantly. "*Ham Skatch terrier banate hain*—I am making a Scotch terrier," was the cool reply. "Are you the great Macdonald, Kiss Macdonald?" a babu whom he met in travelling once asked him.

In the social life of Calcutta he was always exceedingly popular. Not even his advocacy of the Ilbert Bill could blind his Anglo-Indian friends to his genuine worth, and that was a severe test. He had no recreation beyond an evening drive with his wife when his work permitted, and that was nearly always combined with some of his multifarious duties—a call at the printer's, attendance at a committee meeting, a visit to the University Senate House, or some pastoral office. Tennis or some other physical exercise is generally and rightly regarded as absolutely essential to good health and good work in the tropics, but he seemed to get along wonderfully well without anything of the kind. He played no games; his work was

his hobby. But he would occasionally attend the mission tennis parties, to meet and talk with friends. He believed, however, that a missionary had a duty to perform towards the society in which he lived, and he was as scrupulous in the discharge of this as of every other duty. He prided himself upon the fact that he had arrived in Calcutta in time to see the first Viceroy of India under the Crown—Lord Canning—and that he had enjoyed the hospitality of all the ten down to and including Lord Curzon. At Government House, too, he had the honour of being presented to King Edward when he was Prince of Wales, as well as to the other sons of Queen Victoria, to her grandson the late Prince Imperial, and to the present Czar of Russia. At all State functions his colleagues were very well satisfied that the mission should be represented by Dr and Mrs Macdonald.

His family life was singularly happy. He was a devoted husband and father, and saw all his children grow up to manhood and womanhood. The little grandchildren were an added joy to his later years. Mrs Tomory's three children were his constant companions until they went to Scotland, as they lived in another part of the same building in Beadon Street, and he had occasional visits from their little cousins in Burmah.

No one who ever met him needs to be reminded that he never lost his strong Highland accent—it would have been an irreparable loss—and till very near the end he retained his sturdy Highland figure. During the greater part of his life he enjoyed robust health ; he never seemed "to feel the sun," as we say in India, or to need a rest or change. He very seldom went to the hills for a holiday, and latterly he came to believe that the climate of Calcutta, in spite of all its drawbacks, suited him better than any other, not even excluding that of Scotland itself. Latterly he felt very much out of his element at home.

He was "given to hospitality," his house being always open to the utmost limit of its accommodation to his fellow-missionaries from other parts of India and to visitors from other countries. His old-world courtesy and Highland chivalry added a charm to his intercourse with friends and visitors, while his long experience of Indian life, and his wide knowledge of men and of affairs, made his conversation always interesting and his counsel highly valuable. One could seek his help without hesitation, as it was always so obviously a pleasure to him to be of service to anyone. He

possessed in a high degree the faculty of making friends, and also of keeping his friendships in repair.

Of his powers of work, this record of his life, imperfect as it is, is a sufficient indication. If genius is correctly defined as the capacity of taking pains, it was certainly among his gifts.

His religious life was characterised by the reserve natural to his race, but it was free from any trace of the pessimism or melancholy that is so often associated with it. "The best is yet to be" was always the burden of his message. He was doggedly, incurably, hopelessly optimistic. Pessimism, he used to say, was born of the devil, and God never used a discouraged man. He walked in the light all the days of his pilgrimage. The clouds may sometimes have obscured the sun for a time, but he was never left in the dark. He had the most child-like confidence and trust in the wisdom and love of God, which never wavered through forty years' conflict with every phase of unbelief. Most appropriately the words of Robert Browning have been applied to him :—

> "One who never turned his back but marched breast forward,
> Never doubted clouds would break,
> Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph ;
> Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
> Sleep to wake."

His prayers were uniformly addressed to "Our loving Heavenly Father," and scarcely a day passed in which he did not repeat the verse quoted in one of the letters printed at the close of this chapter: "And now I pray for love, deep love to God and man."[1] The metrical version of the twenty-third Psalm, which he had learned at his mother's knee, he used to repeat every night before falling asleep, as his last waking thought.

Much of this could only be known to those who enjoyed the privilege of his personal friendship or knew him in the intimacy of private life. But conspicuous to all, and unmistakable, was what Sir Andrew Fraser after his death called his "sterling and perpendicular loyalty to Christ." Within the sphere of missionary service he was not without ambition. He longed to be of use to

[1] Another very favourite quotation was from F. W. H. Myers' exquisite poem *Saint Paul*:—

> "Christ ! I am Christ's ! and let the name suffice you,
> Ay, for me too He greatly hath sufficed—"

words that have been cut upon his tombstone. He loved the whole poem, and had many of the verses copied into his hymn book.

his fellow-missionaries and to those among whom he laboured; and everything in the way of public recognition that could be interpreted as an appreciation of the importance of the work to which he had devoted his life, or that could in any way be used to further its progress, he gratefully welcomed. But there is nothing to suggest that there was anything beyond that sphere upon which he ever set his heart, or that he yearned for any prize the world had it within its power to bestow. He was a missionary, heart and soul; a bond-slave in the ministry of the Gospel, branded in his body with the marks of the Lord Jesus.

A group of letters of a more personal kind than others that have been quoted may appropriately be inserted here, although the later ones were written in the period we have yet to review, the last three years of his life. They are dated from 1889 to 1903, and were written to his youngest daughter, Bessie. At the beginning of this period she was at school in London; later, she was studying medicine in Edinburgh with a view to being a medical missionary. After graduation she was for two years at St Margaret's Hospital, Poona, in connection with the Church of Scotland Mission; and latterly was the wife of Dr J. A. Smith, a medical missionary of the Presbyterian Church of England at Rampur Boalia, in Bengal.

"CALCUTTA, 30/4/1889.

"I was much interested in your last letter, and think you should decide once for all for Christ, and through good report and bad report be His child, trying always to do His will and follow His footsteps. As you have been baptised already, I do not at all approve of your thinking of being baptised a second time. It is impossible to go here in a short letter into the argument for baptism of children. But this we know, that children were by God's appointment introduced into the Church because of the faith of their parents from the days of Abraham to this—and most certainly our Saviour *did not* drive them out with the money changers. On the other hand, He said, 'Of such is the Kingdom of God.' Read the little book [*Scriptural Baptism; Its Modes and Subjects*, by the Rev. T. Witherow] I send herewith, and read first the *parable* at the end. The Baptists have done incalculable harm to the Church of Christ by their attempts to keep the little children out, and especially here in India. Then as to the *mode*: while I believe

that our Saviour was sprinkled with water, not *dipped*, that is, the water was 'poured' or 'shed' upon Him, while He stood to His ankles or knees in water, and while these words 'poured' or 'shed' are the only words that describe the baptism of the Spirit, I do not think it of any great importance what mode is followed. Baptism is no doubt intended for *believers*, but among believers, as among *Christians*, must always be included their children. The Bible takes for granted that the children of godly, pious parents will grow up to be godly, pious believing men and women, and that the vows taken and profession made in their name and on their behalf will be fulfilled by them on arriving at maturity. This I fondly hope is true of our dear B., and that by joining the Church by her own will and sitting at His table she will show that what was done for her, and to her, and in her name, was not in vain."

"CALCUTTA, 20/5/90.

"I feel that I come short continually in my duty in writing to you. But I would give a great deal to have you sit by my side for an hour or two, and have a long talk—a *tête-à-tête*—on all manner of subjects, and especially all about yourself, your studies, your hopes and fears and wishes and desires. I do not half know you as I would like to know you. Your letters speak very forcibly of a great change on you since we met in Edinburgh; and yet I find it very difficult to picture you in any other way than as I knew you five years ago. I am wearying to have a photo of you, and yet I know photos are very deceptive even as to the general outward appearance; and of the mind and spirit it gives little or no knowledge, and that is what I wish to know."

"CALCUTTA, 29*th July* 1890.

"I am glad E., in her last visit to you, urged you to join the Church of Christ as soon as possible—or, in other words, to accept as your own act what I did in your name in our drawing-room at 32/6 Beadon Street in publicly dedicating you to the Lord Jesus —with the spirit of your departed mother hovering, I have no doubt, around us. Yes, my dearest B., if you desire as you ought, to take upon yourself that dedication, the Lord will give you the needed strength and wisdom to be His child in heart and life. But it won't do to ask for help and strength from Him if you do not use day by day the help and strength He gives. He does not

give, or promise to give *to-day* the needed help and strength for *to-morrow's* work. You must leave Him to provide for to-morrow, and trust that He will do it. Act in the strength supplied to you for to-day's duties. For this we pray, and I feel that our prayer is answered. The manna foolishly collected for to-morrow was of no use. And tho' we personally are far from you, God is near you, and our prayers and spirits are near you, even when letters as well as bodily presence fail. And, my dearest B., think of the love and great goodness of Father, Son and Spirit. Try to cherish such a disposition, and never encourage any disposition to grumble at God in anything. And let even your failures and mistakes and mishaps be stepping-stones under your feet, by means of which you can cross the bogs and quagmires of this world in your ascent to the delightful mountains of the heavenly beatific vision."

"CALCUTTA, *3rd Sept.* 1895.

"You will bear in mind the order of necessity laid upon you by the duty you have undertaken. First, your health; you must see that that is not undermined, or all else will inevitably go to the wall. You must be careful of your health, so as to secure all the rest. Second, you must give what time is necessary to make the passing of your examinations reasonably sure. We all will be glad at your gaining prizes, honorary mention, etc., but that is not at all necessary. It is ornamental and pleasant, but not essential to success either as a doctor or as a missionary. Then, thirdly, after these two are attended to, you should do what you can as an evangelist. I am sure I have said all this before, but you will bear it from an old father who doats upon his youngest child. In fact, when I *feel* old age creeping upon me with its frailties, I have found myself expressing to myself the wish to live to see my youngest daughter succeed me as a medical missionary."

"CALCUTTA, 6/11/95.

"A very favourite and frequent prayer of mine is:—

'And now I pray for love,
Deep love to God and man,
A love that will not fail,
However dark His plan.'

True, you will meet with disappointments, but that is infinitely better than no faith, no love. No man can ever do much good,

either as a missionary or anything else, unless he has much faith and love. . . . I am greatly pleased that you have met with encouragement in your Christian work. But remember that there may be much good spiritual fruit of which you can see nothing. Elijah thought that he was alone when God saw 7000. Even our Saviour's own success was not visible during His thirty-three years' life to mortal eyes, but all the same the fruit was there."

"CALCUTTA, 14/10/96.

"I remember you were congratulating yourself on being like your father. My dear B., I am very sorry that I am not worthy to be so regarded even by my own children. Being like Jesus is the one great thing to be aimed at and desired. Oh, that we grew daily into greater likeness to Him, hating sin but loving the sinner, and loving all righteousness, and going about continually doing good."

"CALCUTTA, 25/5/97.

"Have you ever tried to understand the Book of Job as a whole? Not long ago I made what I consider a valuable discovery—that it is specially fitted to help the missionary in India; and I hope to send you by next mail a copy of my paper on it. I was glad to learn what your subjects of study are for this session. It will add greatly to my interest in them to know that you are studying them. And I hope that by next week I shall be able to answer better than I am now, what is meant by Practical Pathology, Clinical Medicine and Medical Jurisprudence. The last I think I understand best."

[In the interval between the above letter and that which follows Dr Macdonald had gone on furlough to Scotland, and his daughter had left Scotland for Poona.]

"EDINBURGH, 14/12/99.

"You cannot conceive the peaceful rest and joy I experience in looking on you as one of the medical missionaries devoting your time, talents and learning to the temporal and spiritual and eternal benefit of the poor downtrodden women of India. My highest ambition for my children is so far fulfilled and satisfied in my youngest."

"EDINBURGH, 25/1/00.

"I was interested in a letter written at one time by the late Mr Ruskin, as it echoes what my father used to say, and I to repeat.

Here is an extract from it: 'A father should never provide for his children. He should educate and maintain them to the very best of his power, till they are of mature age, never living upon them in their youth. [D—— modernism eats its own children young and excuses its own avarice by them when they are old.] When they are strong enough, throw them out of the nest, but let the nest be always open to them. No guilt should ever stand between child and parents, doors *always* open to daughter or to son, if they come. But no fortune left to them. Father's house open to them, but nothing more. . . .' I do not go in for money, never did, and hence none of my children will inherit any money when I die. I hope I shall leave them a name of which they need not be ashamed, as a missionary of the Cross of Jesus. I am sorry I cannot leave you a legacy of linguistic ability, to help you with your Marathi, or any other language you may be called upon to acquire. But perseverance will master where special ability sometimes fails. Even I have acquired English so fairly as to be able to write and talk in it better than in my mother-tongue. Once you have broken the backbone of this lion in your way, and begin to use it as Samson did, it will prove sweet as honey to you."

"EDINBURGH, 15/2/00.

"I am glad to learn that you take interest in local institutions and places of historical interest or of natural beauty. There are two places near Poona which I saw when there—one, the Buddhist caves of Karli, if I do not confuse the name, and the other the Hindu temple of Parbati on the top of the rock; also Pertabgarh, the spot where Sivaji, the wonderful national hero of the Mahrattas, assassinated the Moslem envoy—which had such extraordinary influence on the history of India—and also his tomb, so beautifully situated. You should make a point of seeing as many places of interest as you can. They remain with you as a legacy all the rest of your life; whereas not doing so will worry you among your permanent regrets."

"EDINBURGH, 22/2/00.

"While I do not play cards, and would unhesitatingly condemn all gambling, whether connected with card-playing or anything else, I would not be hard upon those who see no harm in *mere* card-playing. I simply remark that it is a waste of valuable time which

could surely be better utilised; and it proves a temptation and a stumbling-block to weaker brothers and sisters of the race, and in the end ruin to not a few."

"EDINBURGH, 1/3/00.

"There are just thirty-eight years to-day since I took up my abode for good in Calcutta, and they have been on the whole very happy years—with very few dark days. I would fain hope, despite some dark days at the start, you may be spared to be able to say or write the same of yourself thirty-eight years hence. The first year in a strange land, amidst strangers, with loved ones far away, is generally found to be among the darkest. But then there is the never-failing comfort that *the* Loved One is always the same and always near. He changes not—nor is He ever far away or confined to any one place. Always trust in Him and do the right, without fear of man or woman, whoever they may be."

"EDINBURGH, 5/7/00.

"I am very glad to learn that you have found my paper on Job useful. I believe missionaries to Hindus should study Job more than they do, so as to understand the Hindu modes of thinking about suffering and the way to meet them."

"CALCUTTA, 21/4/02.

"Many thanks for your kind, loving letter and congratulations. I have got over my seventieth birthday anniversary in a quiet, happy way, in the enjoyment of health of mind and body, and with the happy consciousness that I have many friends and well-wishers, and no enemies. I have every reason to be bright and cheery, for God has been very good to me and mine all these long years, and I have every confidence it will continue to be so to the end."

CHAPTER XIX

LAST TERM OF SERVICE

"There is a life that remains ever young,
All through the day, all through the day,
Singing at even the song it has sung,
All through the length of the day;
Love is the story that never grows old,
Telling the story a hundred times told,
Keeping its light where the shadows have rolled,
All through the length of the day."

—GEORGE MATHESON.

IN following the story of Dr Macdonald's last years, from 1900 to 1903, we have the help of a diary. He seems to have kept diaries in earlier years, but they probably perished in the periodical shipwrecks that overtake a missionary's papers when he goes on furlough. The diaries for these last years are very meagre, consisting of very little beyond notes of engagements made and fulfilled, but they furnish us with a more detailed knowledge of his daily life than we possess in the case of any previous period.

Dr and Mrs Macdonald sailed from Liverpool by the *City of Oxford* on 13th October 1900. It was his sixth voyage, and his last. The captain of the *City of Oxford*, Captain William Miller, had been in command of the *City of Poona* in her eventful voyage twenty-seven years before, and this and other circumstances suggested comparisons between 1873 and 1900, generally in favour of the latter year. The voyage was pleasant but uneventful. He conducted services on Sundays, being the only *padre* on board. At Colombo, where they spent six hours on the 8th November, they caught a glimpse of five hundred Boer prisoners just arrived from South Africa. A good deal of writing had been planned for the voyage, but very little was accomplished. This he attributed to the absence of writing conveniences and the unsteadiness of the steamer, but a glance over the names in the passenger list, which he

carefully preserved, suggests that the pleasantness of the company may have been to some extent responsible. But he got a fair amount of reading done. He found *Ecce Homo* in the ship's library, and read it for the first time with great interest. He had a fairly good supply of his own books, and went through Fairbairn's *Catholicism, Roman and Anglican*; Merewether's *Through the Famine Districts of India* (1897); Gwendolen T. Gascoigne's *Among Pagodas and Fair Ladies*; and E. D. Cumming's *With the Jungle Folk, a Sketch of Burmese Village Life.* Then a lady on board lent him Dr Landell's *Chinese Central Asia*, a large work in two volumes, which he found very interesting and useful. The pilot brig was sighted early on the morning of the 13th November, but the evening of that day found them only at a place rejoicing in the poetical name of Budge-Budge, a couple of hours' steaming short of Calcutta. There they anchored for the night, and got into Calcutta before 8 A.M. on the 14th.

One of the first duties Dr Macdonald had to perform was the pleasant one of uniting one of his fellow-passengers, Miss Nairn, in marriage to Mr D. L. Munro. He was called upon to do this unexpectedly the day after their arrival, owing to the serious illness of the Rev. David Reid; and as he could not get the boxes containing his books cleared from the steamer or the Customs House in time, he had to extemporise a wedding service.

Two remarkable members of the Bengali Christian community passed away, one just before, the other soon after Dr Macdonald's return—Joy Gobindo Shome, M.A., B.L., and Ruth Daniel. Mr Shome had since his conversion led a life of great activity, and by means of his paper, the *Indian Christian Herald*, had exercised a considerable influence on public opinion. Dr Macdonald and he had not always seen eye to eye, but they appreciated each other's good qualities, and at a memorial meeting held in Entally Baptist Chapel on 15th December, it was Dr Macdonald who moved the first resolution, expressing profound sorrow on account of Mr Shome's death, and gratefully recognising his manifold services to the community, to whose welfare he had devoted his life, chiefly by organising institutions that were fitted to foster in it the spirit of union and independence, and in every way to advance the interests of Christ's kingdom.

Miss Daniel was a devoted Christian, who had been an attached friend of the Macdonalds, ever since she had been a pupil under

Mrs Macdonald in the Boarding School. She had given her life to mission work among her fellow-countrywomen. She died after a long illness that required several surgical operations. She was in hospital when the Macdonalds returned, and they were constant in their attendance upon her till the end. Just before she underwent the last operation, from which she did not recover, she handed Mrs Macdonald a sealed envelope addressed to Dr Macdonald, which he was to open in the event of her death. It was found to contain one thousand rupees for the support of an orphan in the Free Church Orphanage, and also full directions for the funeral, which was to be conducted by Dr Macdonald. It then transpired that some time before her death she had made all the necessary arrangements with the undertaker, given him a list of those who were to be invited, and paid his bill in full.

On the 17th December the Presbytery of the United Free Church of Scotland was quietly constituted in Calcutta, in consequence of the union of the Free and the United Presbyterian Churches of Scotland. Dr Macdonald was elected the first Moderator of this local court. He had always hoped that he would see the fulfilment of Dr Candlish's prophecy in 1873, that many of those who had seen the failure of the union movement in that year would live to see it revived and carried to a successful issue, and he was not disappointed. He did not live to know what a momentous event that union was to be in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland.

At the close of the year an interesting family gathering took place under the paternal roof in Beadon Street. Dr Macdonald's youngest son, Donald, had been married at Leicester, on 1st December, to Miss Maud Ellmore, and the newly-married couple spent some time in Calcutta on their way to their home at Serajganj, in Eastern Bengal. Mr and Mrs Tomory and their three children were there, and also the youngest daughter, Dr Bessie Macdonald, who came from Poona, and Dr John A. Smith, who was engaged to be married to her, and who was then on his way to Rampur Boalia. Kenneth, the second son, came from Burmah to join the gathering, but his wife and children were at home in England. One evening Mrs Hannah, the great-grandmother of the children of Mr Kenneth Macdonald, junior, dined with the party. She was also the grand-aunt of Dr Macdonald's children, as she had married their mother's uncle. The absent members of the family were the eldest son,

Ian, who was serving with one of the irregular troops in South Africa, where he afterwards joined one of the mounted police forces, and the eldest daughter, Mrs Gollan, who was married to a Presbyterian minister at Dunvegan, in Canada.

The end of the year found Dr Macdonald quite settled down in the familiar place, and hard at work on the familiar tasks. His visit to Scotland had enabled him to get rid of the fever, on account of which his furlough had been ante-dated, but in other respects he felt that he had returned to Calcutta in worse health than when he had left it. There were alarming signs of heart weakness and other internal complaints, and although he would rally well for a time and recover his usual good spirits, the history from this point to the end is one of progressive weakness and of frequent attacks of illness which were often of a painful and troublesome nature, and always more or less depressing. In writing to his brother Donald about this time, he says that in all probability they will not meet again on earth.

But when Dr Murdoch wrote to him, urging him to take up the Tantras, he resolved to face the task however difficult and uninviting it might be. Dr Murdoch said he would require £100 a year for a good pundit, familiar with both Sanskrit and English, and for the purchase of books. This sum, Dr Murdoch felt sure, the Foreign Mission Committee of their now common Church (for Dr Murdoch had belonged to the United Presbyterian Church, although not formally connected with its missions) would readily provide; but it did not see its way to do this. Funds were low, and the Committee were not convinced that the work was one of prime necessity. They did not, however, place any obstacle in the way of his undertaking it. "You might get up a little Sanskrit yourself," the veteran of eighty-one writes to his friend of sixty-eight. He had to get on as best he could without a pundit, and to rely chiefly on the Calcutta libraries—whose inadequacy he often complains of[1]—for the books he needed. He rummaged through the bazaar for second-hand editions, sometimes picking up a good bargain for a few coppers, and ransacked all the libraries to which he could gain access—the Imperial, Metcalfe, University, Duff College, and Asiatic Society Libraries. Some of the books he

[1] Thanks, mainly, to the enterprise of Lord Curzon, the amalgamation of the Imperial and Metcalfe Libraries has furnished Calcutta readers with a much better library than any which existed at the time referred to above.

wanted were not to be had in Calcutta, and he had to send for them to Allahabad or Benares. Some of the friends he consulted tried to dissuade him from going on with the work, for various reasons. An up-country paper said bluntly that the Tantras were "too dirty to touch." Others were of the opinion that it was unnecessary to expose what all respectable Hindus were ashamed of and condemned. He did not believe, however, that even among educated Hindus the Tantras were so discredited as some people believed. Even the Vedantists, he said, the exponents of revived Hinduism, were closely associated with the most abominably immoral sects, the Saktas of Bengal. The Swami Vivekananda was himself a Sakta, or Kali worshipper, and indulged in the obscenity for which her worship was notorious, and it was with the same cult that Miss Noble, or "Sister Nivedita," associated herself by her booklet, *Kali the Mother*. In fact, to popularise Vedantism, which was not a religion or worship, but a philosophy of being, it was necessary to connect it with one or other of the "abomination cults," which in Bengal meant Sakta worship or Tantric mysticism. He believed, therefore, that he was doing a useful work for his fellow-missionaries by exposing this wretched system, and persevered with it, undeterred by the consideration that a regard for decency made the publication of unexpurgated and truly representative Tantras impossible.

It has already been mentioned that the exposure of Tantric worship was only part of a much more comprehensive scheme conceived by the fertile brain of Dr Murdoch. Into the whole plan Dr Macdonald entered with characteristic heartiness, and co-operated to the best of his ability. Among the forces arrayed against Christianity, wrote Dr Murdoch, Islam presented the most compact and impenetrable front. In countries under Mohammedan rule mission work was carried on at a great disadvantage, for, according to the Koran, death was the penalty of apostasy. India, with its religious liberty, was the best field for Christian work among the Moslems, and there the Queen's Mohammedan subjects were more numerous than those of the Sultan of Turkey. Yet comparatively little was being done to take advantage of this great opportunity. The Rev. Dr E. M. Wherry of the American Presbyterian Mission, Ludhiana, was to be asked to use his great experience of work among Mohammedans in preparing a full statement of the case for Christianity, to be sent free to the leading members of

the community. Then the Rev. Arthur H. Ewing of Allahabad, who had recently been studying Sanskrit at the Johns-Hopkins University, Baltimore, was to take up Dyanand Sarasvati, the leader of the Arya Samaj, one of the bitterest opponents of Christianity in India. Then the Maharajah of Dharbhanga, probably the wealthiest landlord in Bengal, had recently figured as the champion of orthodox Hinduism. He had presided at a great demonstration held in Delhi to arrest the decline of Hinduism, where the Shastras had been carried in procession through the streets, amid scenes of great enthusiasm. Dr Murdoch was preparing an open letter to the Maharajah, on lines similar to that which Dr Wherry was to present to the Moslems, and he submitted it to Dr Macdonald for suggestions. Dr Macdonald's work on the Tantras would complete the occupation of all the positions of first-rate strategic importance.

Early in 1901 Dr Macdonald and his fellow-workers rejoiced to hear of the baptism of a babu at Benares, who professed to have been led to Christ by attending the meetings at Beadon Square. All his family were baptised along with him. In April he attended a meeting of the Young Men's Christian Association Committee, which accepted an estimate of more than a lakh and a half of rupees (over £10,000), not including the site, for a central building in Chowringhee, for the European branch of the work. He lived to see the splendid building, now one of the architectural features of Calcutta, completed. About this time, and for several months following, there are frequent references to the Panjabi, before referred to, who frequently disturbed the meetings at Beadon Square. He professed to have come to Calcutta to found an Arya Samaj, but was disowned by the Arya Samaj that already existed there. He attacked Christianity with great bitterness, but made himself equally obnoxious to the Bengali Hindus by denouncing the worship of Kali. The rule which the police had made after the preaching case, prohibiting the holding of a rival meeting within fifty yards of another, came in very useful now, but it taxed the Christians' ingenuity to prevent their opponent from over-reaching them. "Circumvented the Panjabi, who tried to take our stance," Dr Macdonald writes in his journal one day.

In July he suffered from a carbuncle, for which he had to undergo an operation. But in September we find him attending five meetings in a single day—the Bible Society Committee, followed by the Tract Society, in the early morning; Y.M.C.A.

and Deaf and Dumb Institution meetings in the course of the day, and an open-air meeting in College Square in the evening.

In the beginning of December his daughter Bessie was wedded to Dr J. A. Smith. The ceremony took place in Calcutta, and was described in one of the papers as "a medical missionary marriage." The bride and bridegroom, the groomsman and the two bridesmaids were all medical missionaries. In the same month he attended the Seventh Council of the Indian Presbyterian Alliance, which met at Allahabad on the 11th and 12th, but on account of his health he had to decline the post of Moderator, to which he was unanimously elected.

The National Congress met in Calcutta at the end of the year, in a large temporary building erected in Beadon Square, and an Indian Industrial Exhibition was held at the same time and place. A Committee of the Calcutta Missionary Conference organised two meetings in the General Assembly's Institution, at which Dr Macdonald presided, and to which the Congress delegates were specially invited. At one of these meetings Mr Kali Churn Banerjea lectured on *The Relation of Christianity to the Political Well-being of India*, and at the other on *Christ the Synthesis of Indian Religious Thought*. In the Exhibition a stall was arranged for by the Bible and Tract Societies for the display and sale of Christian literature.

"The Reaper, whose name is Death," was now increasingly busy among "the bearded grain" in the circle of Dr Macdonald's relatives and friends. Mrs Manson, Mrs Macdonald's mother, died in November 1900 at the age of eighty-one. His sister Betsy, Mrs Gollan—whose farm at Glenfintaig, Lochaber, he used to visit in student days—died in Glasgow at the beginning of the year 1901. In September of the same year, by the death of the Rev. Mathura Nath Bose of Gopalganj, he lost a real brother beloved, and a forty years' intimate friendship was brought to its earthly close. His former colleague, Professor James Robertson of Aberdeen, died on 24th August. At the same time it was a great gratification to him to hear from time to time good news of the young generation that was rising up to fill the gaps. He notes that one nephew, the Rev. Donald C. Campbell Gollan, is settled as United Free Church minister at Nigg, and he watches with much interest the proceedings that lead to the translation of another nephew, the Rev. John S. Macdonald, from Stornoway to Nairn. The call was signed by

1068 members, and was declined, but the congregation appealed to the Commission of Assembly, and got the man they had set their hearts on. From another airt altogether he receives a *Rockhampton Morning Bulletin*, containing the news of the election of another nephew, Kenneth M. Grant, at the head of the poll, to the Queensland Legislative Council.

In a letter, dated 5th March 1902, to his brother Donald he writes: "I am of late a good deal impressed with the fact that I am growing old. I last week finished my forty years in Calcutta, and if spared a few weeks more will finish my threescore years and ten in this beautiful world of God's creation." Yet the same letter tells of the United Evangelistic Campaign that had just been held in February. By an arrangement between all the missions represented in the Calcutta Conference, meetings were held daily for a fortnight, at several centres. During the campaign Dr Macdonald preached every day, once at least, and sometimes twice. In some places there was vigorous opposition, especially in Beadon Square, where, on at least one occasion, when the rival meeting broke the police regulations, the police had to charge the crowd. The results of the campaign were on the whole encouraging, although they did not come up to the expectations of the organisers. Dr Macdonald himself seemed to doubt if they were such as to justify the interruption of the routine methods of work which such a scheme necessarily involved. The preparation of his evidence for the Universities Commission, and a lecture delivered before the University Institute, and printed afterwards in the *University Magazine*, on *Keltic Culture in Scotland in pre-Christian Times*, were congenial recreations from his labours on the Tantras. The subject of the lecture was one that had long interested him. He believed that the religion which the preaching of Columba and his followers displaced, must have corresponded in many respects to that of the Hindus in Vedic or pre-Vedic times. As in almost all nature religions, the sun occupied a most important place among the objects worshipped. To this day, in the Gaelic language, the words used to denote the four points in the compass were a proof of this. This, too, was the origin of the popular superstition that to move in the direction of the sun—as when rising from bed in the morning, or going to sea in a boat, or in the case of a newly-married couple leaving the scene of the marriage, or of the dead being carried to burial—was a token of prosperity. There were

traces, too, of fire-worship in the names of days and of places. In Vedic literature much was made of the forced-fire, lighted once a year by the rubbing of two pieces of stick together, and in comparatively late times in the Highlands of Scotland it was still the custom to extinguish all the domestic fires and to light them anew in this way. Dr Macdonald, by the way, does not seem to have ever committed himself to an opinion on the delicate question of the genuineness of the Ossianic poems. The failure of his uncle William's quest to find evidence of pre-Christian literature in the Highlands may have had some influence on him. In this respect he was a less typical Highlander than his old chief, Dr Duff, who once declared that he regarded the authenticity of Ossian as a matter of equal importance with the authenticity of the Gospels, that if he could doubt the former he would be reduced to absolute scepticism and could believe in nothing.

Still the Tantras were not neglected. Although he found them "awfully dry and stupid," the work engrossed him so much that he resolved even to give up his evening drives with his wife to give more time to it. But it is a relief to find him a few evenings later at the Eden Gardens, listening to the bagpipes of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. If the Tantras had been sirens luring him to destruction, the pibroch would have been the lyre of Orpheus, keeping him straight.

The University still had a share of his attention. A sudden squall sprang up in August 1902 over the selection of Frederic Harrison's *Choice of Books* as a text-book in English for the B.A. examination. Dr Macdonald protested that this book was thoroughly unsuitable for the purpose, and as President of the Board of Studies in English he persuaded his colleagues to withdraw it and to substitute in its place a volume of Typical Selections from Sir Philip Francis to Lord Macaulay. Nor were his other public duties forgotten. Very often he began a long day's work by presiding at a committee meeting of the Bible Society, at 7.30 or 8 A.M., at a place three or four miles from his own residence. On 1st September his brougham was smashed between an electric tram-car and a steam road-roller, but fortunately the occupants were not hurt.

In November he met with a more serious accident while travelling by rail. While he was lowering one of the upper sleeping-berths, which are slung from the roofs of Indian railway carriages,

he lost his hold of it, and the berth coming down with force, knocked him violently down on the floor of the carriage. His back was badly bruised, and he was confined to the house for some time. To his great regret he was not able on this account to attend the earlier lectures of Dr Cuthbert Hall, the Haskell Lecturer for the year 1902-03. He recovered in time to be present at the latter part of the course, and thoroughly enjoyed the lectures he heard. It also gave him much pleasure to have Dr Hall as his guest. This unfortunate accident was one of the reasons which prevented him from attending the Decennial Missionary Conference in Madras in December 1902. The paper he wrote for that Conference, on Religious Movements in Bengal in the Decade, has been referred to in the review of his literary work. The Decennial Conference appointed him a member of the Standing Arbitration Committee for the settlement of all questions of mission comity—division of territory, transference of mission workers and church members, etc. —between missions and missionaries, where the disputants had failed to come to an agreement between themselves. A representative was appointed to this Committee for each of the recognised Protestant missionary societies at work in India, forty in number. Dr Macdonald represented the United Free Church of Scotland on this general committee, and was also elected to the smaller Executive Committee of fifteen members.

About this time he mentions in his diary that Mrs Macdonald and he had tea one afternoon in Calcutta with the widow of a well-known Bengali barrister, who told them that her aunt had become a widow at twelve, and from that time till her death, at the age of ninety-two, she had eaten no cooked food, only raw fruit and vegetables and sweets.

On 12th January 1903 Dr and Mrs Macdonald celebrated their silver wedding. They were the recipients of messages and gifts in silver from Burmah, from Aberdeen, where Mrs Tomory had gone by this time with her children, and from Canada, as well as from many friends and relatives in Calcutta and elsewhere in India. Their son and his wife from Serajganj paid them a personal visit. In February Dr Macdonald was asked to resume his old office of Secretary to the Tract Society, but felt compelled to decline.

On the 21st of February he attended the University Convocation, an annual function at which degrees are conferred, for the last time. Lord Curzon, as Chancellor, presided, but did not make a formal

speech. The Vice-Chancellor, however, Mr (now Sir) Thomas Raleigh, who as Law Member of Council took a special interest in the universities of India, and had charge of the much-contested Universities Bill as it passed through the legislature, delivered what Dr Macdonald describes as a "magnificent speech." The members of the University were seated on the platform in the order of seniority, and Dr Macdonald found that his place was fourth from the top. The proceedings were of special interest to him for a personal reason. A short time before this his friend Mr Kali Churn Banerjea had been appointed Registrar to the University, a post which until then had never been filled by anyone but a European. This was the first Convocation at which he appeared in public in this new capacity, and his friend was gratified to see him performing his duties to the admiration of all.

In March Dr Macdonald, and the Revs. W. H. Hart and G. W. Olver of the Wesleyan Mission, and the Rev. David Reid, waited upon the Hon. Mr H. H. Risley, Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, to make a representation on the subject of the Indian Christian Marriage Act, in connection with which many missionaries had long felt they had a grievance. Under this Act, ministers of the Church of Rome, the Church of England, and the Established Church of Scotland, are empowered, *ex officio*, in virtue of their ordination, to celebrate marriages. All others must apply to Government for licences. Missionaries of other Churches had often contended that they too should have the same powers granted to them, and in the case of the American Methodist Episcopal and the Moravian Missionaries, this had just been conceded, on the ground that they, too, were "episcopally ordained." This made matters worse, for it grounded the inequality upon a pure fiction, and drew invidious distinctions not only between established churches and nonconformists, but also between some nonconformists and others. Presbyterians of other Churches than the Established Church of Scotland, Wesleyans, Congregationalists and others, very naturally resented the insinuation that their ordination was less "regular" than that of American Methodists or Moravians. There were some American Methodists, too, who repudiated the idea that they had more in common with the Anglicans and Romanists than with other nonconformists. It seemed to be a good opportunity for trying to induce the Government to put an end to the anomaly once for all; but as far as can

be known at present the representations have not produced any result.

About this time the "Malda case" was attracting the attention of missionaries in Bengal, and Mrs Macdonald, through her connection with the Dufferin Fund, was summoned to Malda as a witness. She did not go, but sent a written statement. Briefly, the case was that of a young Bengali Christian, a lady doctor, who was stationed at Malda in connection with the Dufferin Fund. A wealthy *zamindar*, or landlord, one night made a most determined attempt to abduct her by enticing her on board his house-boat on the pretence that he wished her to attend to his wife. An alarm was raised, and she was rescued. The *zamindar* was arrested, tried by a native magistrate, convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of one thousand rupees—a merely nominal punishment to a person in his position. The sentence was so ridiculously inadequate that Government appealed against it, and the High Court ordered the case to be retried by the Sessions Judge of Malda. Two assessors, local native gentlemen, sat on the bench with the Judge. Their verdict was "not exactly guilty," which, said the *Pioneer*, must constitute a record even among assessors' verdicts. The Judge, however, disagreed with them, and sentenced the landlord to two years' imprisonment.

On 15th March Dr Macdonald received a letter from the Convener of the Foreign Mission Committee of the United Free Church, intimating the decision of that Committee that he should retire from active work at the end of the year, on an allowance. He had no wish to retire, but a strong desire to die in harness and to die in India. He replied by the return mail, accepting the Committee's decision, but at the same time intimating that it was his intention to remain in Calcutta, and to carry on his work as long as health and strength were given him. In these circumstances the Committee agreed that he should continue to occupy the mission house. Even the thought of retiral was a trial to him, but he was spared the greater sorrow that the reality would have been.

At the end of April and the beginning of May he paid a pleasant visit to the Medical Mission at Kalna, a day's sail by steamer up the Hoogly river, where he was to deliver a lecture on the Sunday evening on *The Census of* 1901*; a contrast between Hinduism, as revealed in the Census, and Christianity.* He was much interested in seeing a little of the medical work of Dr

Macnicol and Dr Kee—the huge crowds at dispensary, amounting at times to five or six hundred or more, and the cases of suffering brought into hospital, representing every caste and creed. He made a special note of a little boy eight years old, who had been brought in with a fractured thigh. His friends had brought him stark-naked from a place eleven miles away, on a bullock cart—the jolting of which on the rough country roads was almost itself sufficient to cause the fracture they wished to have cured—twenty-four hours after the accident. The lecture on the Sunday evening was very well attended, and the audience attentive and apparently interested. The Chairman, a local lawyer, was, like so many other men in positions of influence all over the country, an old student of the lecturer's.

In May another old friend died, the Rev. John Davidson Don, minister at King William's Town, South Africa. He had come to Calcutta in 1862, a few months after Dr Macdonald, and had laboured there as missionary and minister for ten years. Owing to the state of his wife's health he then resigned, and had been in South Africa since 1877.

In May Dr Macdonald read the last of his many papers to the Calcutta Missionary Conference. His subject was the Census of Calcutta. The paper, printed in the *Indian Evangelical Review* and then republished as a pamphlet, has been referred to in a previous chapter. In the same month, accompanied by Mrs Macdonald, he visited Rampur Boalia. Mrs Smith had been invalided home some months before, but he was much interested in seeing her home and her husband's work. On the Sunday evening he lectured to a crowded audience in the Mission Hall on the same subject as he had taken at Kalna. An animated discussion followed the lecture; the babu who seconded the vote of thanks criticised the paper at some length, some of the Christians present replied to him, and generally so much interest was aroused that Dr Macdonald agreed to continue the subject at the same time and place on the following Sunday evening. The second meeting was equally well attended, and no note of dissent was heard in the subsequent speeches. On this second Sunday Dr Macdonald also preached at a service in English for the few local Europeans. At these meetings and all through the week he felt the heat very trying, for the hot season was now at its height. He returned to Calcutta at the end of May, and all through the oppressive heat of June he worked at his desk day by day, attending meetings in the morning

and evening. He was always at his post in Beadon Square on Sunday, speakers being comparatively scarce during the hot weather months. The Census Reports and the Tantras occupied most of the time he had for reading, but he was also much interested in the new edition of Sir John Strachey's *India*, and also enjoyed Dr Bruce's *Formation of Character*. As usual, he eagerly devoured the news of the General Assembly, and registered the annual protest made by all missionaries against the inadequacy of the newspaper reports of the proceedings on the Foreign Mission night.

On the 11th of July a very interesting gathering was to take place at the historic Baptist Mission at Serampore, twelve miles up the river from Calcutta, in celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the opening of the first Sunday School in India. Although organised by the Indian Sunday School Union, it was to be a rally of all the missionary forces in Calcutta. Dr Macdonald was asked to preside, and consented to do so. As the time approached, however, he felt that his health was not equal to the task. The gathering was to be on a Saturday afternoon, and he felt he had to husband all his strength for the Sunday's work. In these circumstances he asked Mr Reid to take his place.

On Sunday, the 12th July, he was at Beadon Square. Just as he was about to mount the *rostrum* to speak a heavy storm came on, and he was prevailed upon to desist. On the following Sunday, 19th July, he spoke from the words "Worship God," in Revelation xxii. 9. On Saturday, the 25th, he had three meetings—the Board of Studies in History at the University Senate House at 5 P.M., where he secured the recognition of Strachey's *India* for the M.A. course; a meeting of Presbytery at 6 P.M., where he moved the acceptance of the resignation of the Rev. David Reid, who was compelled to leave India on account of his wife's health; and thereafter the fortnightly prayer meeting in connection with the United Free Church Mission, held in his own house.

Letters.

To his brother.

"Calcutta, 22/11/1900.

"There is a week gone since we arrived in Calcutta, and we are scarcely settled yet. Everything about our furniture and books was in great confusion, and it required a good deal of time to put them in order.

"29/11/1900.

"The above was all that was written on the 22nd, when I found that the hour of posting home letters had been changed, so that the time was up when I commenced to write. . . . Our voyage was upon the whole a good one. . . . Our thoughts were much with you, and more especially on the great days in Edinburgh [*i.e.* the time of the Union Assembly]. And while I thank you very heartily and appreciate your kindness in sending me the papers, I missed greatly a few words from yourself as to the state of things in your own parish and presbytery. I hope your congregation has not at all suffered. . . . We have here with us on their way to China, the Rev. Mr and Mrs Steele of the English Presbyterian Church. She is a native of Novar, and a member of the Free Church of Alness. . . . My doctor's report on my health here was very disappointing. He went so far as to say that if he had known ere I went home what the result of my visit to Scotland would issue in, he would never have recommended me [to go]. For my heart was quite strong and good when I went, able for anything; now it was far otherwise. I should be very careful in climbing stairs or even in descending. I should preach little or nothing, and take only the slightest exercise, only a very quiet walk. So that I am as a missionary to bestow most of my time on literature and on quiet personal dealings with inquirers.

"I have been received and welcomed by all classes of the community here with great cordiality, Christians and non-Christians alike. I had a very warm welcome this morning from the Bible Society. . . . At a large meeting of the Text-Book Committee—the leading educationalists, all save myself non-Christians—they welcomed me, all standing, and all pressing to shake hands with me. I feel that here I have work and influence, where I am much needed. Whereas at home I had no work except deputation work, for which I felt I was not fitted. Dear Donald, pray excuse all this personal talk about myself. But I feel as if it was definitely settled that we are never to see each other's face again in the flesh; and I feel awfully grateful for all you have been to me and mine all these years."

"Calcutta, 7/3/01.

"I was greatly pleased to get your letter and newspaper, and to learn that you liked our family photo [of the gathering at the end

of 1900]. For India we make a most unusual impression, for as a rule families here break up and the children go home and never return to meet together in the old home. . . . I am glad to be able to add that I feel quite restored in health. You say I look in the picture as if I was renewing my youth, and now I feel it since I have entered on my fortieth year's service here. But I think you are doing in your circumstances a wise thing in arranging to have an assistant. I wish I could have one. I hope, however, that the unrest you write of as pervading the Highland congregations will soon pass away, and you all will resume your old peaceful ways."

"CALCUTTA, 10/5/01.

"By the time this reaches you you will be in the excitement of your General Assembly, or Assemblies—and we here broiling in our tropical heat. We are anxious to hear about yourself, and if you have got a good efficient assistant for your extensive parish with its heavy work. You see from the *Record* that I seem to be marked down for sedentary work, and a very limited parish work. I still carry on my work in Beadon Square on Sunday, and in the Mission Church in turn with my brother missionaries, and on Wednesday evenings I am found holding forth in College Square, right in front of the Senate House. Still my work is truly sedentary—poring over my Tantras. I have secured help from a good few missionaries in reading Tantras and writing notices or reviews or reports of them. Among these are two Baptist missionaries, an American Methodist, an English Wesleyan, three Church Missionary Society missionaries, one London Missionary Society, one American Independent, two United Free Church, and three American Presbyterian missionaries. These last should be mentioned first, inasmuch as two of them have entered so heartily into the proposal, and are so qualified by their knowledge of Sanskrit. . . . We are this week in mourning over the sudden death of our bearer, a man who has faithfully served us for the last seven years—a tall, fine-looking man—one of the tallest I have ever seen—quiet, diligent and willing; and most loyal and kind to me in my illness, and indeed at all times. He was attacked by cholera on Tuesday forenoon, and by Wednesday afternoon (little more than twenty-four hours) he was cremated—nothing but a few ashes left visibly of him. We shall miss him greatly, for he knew our ways, and was

so helpful, especially to me. He was only forty-five years of age. . . . He looked quite well at our breakfast time, and before our luncheon was served he was in the grasp of death. Such is life here, not with natives only but with Europeans also; tho' we have escaped all these years. For the last fortnight it has been very hot with us, night and day, the thermometer seldom below 90°, and frequently up to 93° or 94°. Our healths are good, however —wonderfully so. Still the heat is very trying to flesh and blood."

"CALCUTTA, 15/8/01.

"Since writing you last I have passed through a good deal of physical pain and suffering. . . . I was not laid up nor altogether off work, but the work had to be lessened a good deal. I am now in full work, and am to take the English service in the Mission Church next Sunday. . . . We have been pestered much of late by attacks of a most virulent kind against Christianity, and against missionaries, alike in print and also by spoken lectures and addresses. Of course I have taken part, and am still writing articles and addressing meetings in reply. The written replies are in two forms—the one being as tracts, of which two are out (I hope to send you copies by next week's mail), the other by printed letters in the *Bengalee* newspaper, one of the most popular among the natives."

"CALCUTTA, 1/1/02.

"I was wearying to hear from you. . . . We now send you the warmest and heartiest season's greetings. May you all have a comfortable, happy and useful year, and many returns of such. . . . I am fast approaching the completion of threescore years and ten of my sojourn on earth, and I feel as if, what is only the truth, I should sing of God's great goodness and loving-kindness to me all hese years, however unworthy I have been. He has been very good to me and mine. . . . I am working hard every day at the study of the Tantras—a gigantic work. I am unable to say when I shall finish. I am still only collecting materials. Of course I do one way or another a good deal of mission work. I cannot throw aside work in which I have been engaged for so many years, even if I wished to, which I do not. . . . I would like to have from you any ecclesiastical news from the Highlands."

CHAPTER XX

THE END

"Lockhart, be a good man—be virtuous—be religious—be a good man. Nothing else will give you any comfort when you come to lie here."—SIR WALTER SCOTT (*on his death-bed*).

(He) "gave
His body to that pleasant country's earth,
And his pure soul unto his captain, Christ,
Under whose colours he had fought so long."

—SHAKESPEARE.

"No work begun shall ever pause for death."—BROWNING.

THE following letter, dated Calcutta, 23rd July 1903, was written to Mrs Smith, who was at that time in Scotland, where Mr and Mrs Tomory were also spending their furlough, along with their children :—

"Grandfather's greetings to his two daughters, B. and M., his son-in-law and his three grandchildren—all of whom are before him in imagination, memory and photograph, all the days. I awoke from my forenoon nap to-day with B. in my arms, saying Good-bye to her just as I was starting on my long voyage to India, and making her promise that she would faithfully and regularly write to me. The dream was partly the result of my intention to write to you after my nap in response to your protestations that though circumstances might prevent you writing regularly, your love would always be the same."

As far as can be ascertained, this was the last letter he wrote to any member of his family. It was received by Mrs Smith a week after she had heard by cablegram the news of her father's death.

On Sunday morning, 26th July, he attended the early service in the Mission Church, when Mr Watt was the preacher. Thereafter there was a lengthy meeting of the Kirk Session, at which arrangements were made for the celebration of the Lord's Supper on the following Sunday. In the evening he was at Beadon Square as usual. The other speakers were Mr Kali Churn Banerjea, the Rev. W. S.

Urquhart, who had joined the United Free Church Mission at the beginning of the year, and a young Bengali Christian, Bonomali Dass by name, whose address Dr Macdonald describes as long and powerful. Dr Macdonald himself spoke on "What is God? and the attributes of a true loving God." It was a long-established custom for the workers at Beadon Square to assemble at the Macdonalds' house after the meeting on Sunday evenings, for tea. The gathering took place this Sunday as usual, the Bengali preacher, Mr Acharjya, who had been conducting the service in the Mission Church, and the Rev. J. C. and Mrs Scrimgeour also joining the party.

An engagement was booked for Monday—a meeting of the Society for the Protection of Children in India in the Union Chapel Hall at 6 P.M. Dr Macdonald did not go, but Mrs Macdonald went. The following entry occurs in the diary for this day, the 27th July: "Letter from Dr Macphail, asking me to write reminiscences for *Conference*.[1] Would gladly do so if I got through my Census Reports and made greater progress with my Tantras." A letter to this effect was written on the day before his death. On Tuesday he was busy arranging for a text-book in English for the Entrance Examination in 1905. In the evening he dined with his friends, the Rev. F. W. and Mrs Steinthal at the College Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association, and met there a number of missionary friends.

On Wednesday, the 29th, he attended and presided at meetings of the Bible and Tract Societies, beginning at 8 A.M., and in the course of the day signed two hundred receipts in connection with the Bengal Family Pension Fund.

He had an engagement for Thursday evening, the 30th, to preach at an evangelistic meeting at the Overtoun Hall at 6.45 P.M. He had chosen his subject—"Who is the God we shall worship?"—suggested by a verse in the *Rig Veda Sanhita*, and was busy preparing for it. For several days he had been in the hands of his Bengali doctor on account of the internal trouble from which he had been suffering from time to time for several years. The doctor attended him on Thursday forenoon, 30th July, but there was nothing to indicate that he would not be able to preach in the evening, and he proceeded with the work of preparation. Later in

[1] A quarterly paper in connection with the United Free Church of Scotland Missions in India.

the day, however, he was attacked by fever, which soon reached an alarming height, when he became unconscious. His last articulate words were to ask Mrs Macdonald to send a message to 86 College Street, to say that he would not be able to fulfil his engagement there. An effort was made to get a European doctor to meet his own doctor in consultation, but it was unsuccessful. When his colleagues heard of his illness, they came to him as soon as their college work was done, but by that time he was unconscious. They shared with Mrs Macdonald the duty of attending on him during the evening, and as it became apparent that the end was drawing near, Mr Watt and Mr Scrimgeour prayed at his bed-side. He quietly passed away, apparently without suffering, a few minutes before midnight. As he lay dying the books and papers he had been using in the preparation of his address were around him. His wish that he might die in harness had been granted to the letter.

It was a sad day in the Calcutta Mission. As Dr Macdonald's illness was assuming a serious aspect, Mrs Gupta, one of the most valued and experienced workers in connection with the Zenana Mission, came home from her work feeling ill. She died of apoplexy between nine and ten o'clock the same evening. She was buried in the morning of the following day, the 31st of July, and Dr Macdonald in the afternoon.

It was a dull, still day, cooler than usual for the season of the year. For half an hour or more before the funeral procession left the house in Beadon Street, the drawing-room and adjoining lobby were filled with a company of sorrowing friends, European and Bengali. All the Calcutta missionaries, men and women, of the United Free Church were present, as well as numerous representatives of the other missionary societies. The Indian staff of the Duff College, of the Normal School and Orphanage, and of the Zenana Mission were all there, and many members of the Bengali congregation. A large number of friends were unable to gain access to the house, but waited outside to join the funeral procession to the cemetery. The Rev. David Reid of Wellesley Square Church opened the funeral service in English by reading a few passages of Scripture and engaging in prayer. This was followed by prayer in Bengali, offered by Mr Kali Churn Banerjea, whose deep and intense grief was very manifest. As he thanked God for what Dr Macdonald had been to them all—a dearly loved father in Christ—and expressed their anguished sense of loss, his voice

faltered and broke, and it was with difficulty he could go on. In all parts of the room the loud sobs of the deeply moved Bengali Christians proved how generally the sorrow of their leader was shared.

The brief service at the house being concluded, the coffin, laden with flower-wreaths, was borne out to the hearse by Bengali Christian young men, the mourners found their way to their carriages, and the procession, leaving Beadon Street and turning into the long, broad stretch of Circular Road, proceeded southwards to the Scotch Cemetery. With the solitary exception of Sir John Woodburn's, who had died in Calcutta while holding the high office of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, it was the largest and most impressive funeral seen in Calcutta within recent memory. It was impossible for the crowd of carriages following the hearse to keep in single file; they came along as a rule two and sometimes three abreast. The path through the cemetery was lined by pupils of the Calcutta Boys' and Girls' Schools and the Mission Girls' School. The service at the grave was in English, conducted by the Rev. John Watt, the senior ordained missionary in the Duff College at the time, and the Rev. John Morrison, D.D., Principal of the General Assembly's Institution. But the assemblage was so vast, that only a small portion were near enough to hear the voices of the clergymen. Thus, amid renewed signs of genuine and widely felt grief, the remains of the beloved dead were committed to their last resting-place. Mrs Macdonald was the only member of the family present at the funeral. Mr and Mrs Tomory and Mrs Smith were in Scotland, and it was impossible to communicate the news of the death to the son at Serajganj or to the son-in-law in Rampur Boalia in time to enable either of them to reach Calcutta before the interment.

The press throughout India, and especially all the Calcutta papers, both English and vernacular, contained sympathetic references to his death, and in many cases detailed and appreciative reviews of his life and work. A sketch of his career in the *Statesman* was reproduced in many other papers. "Max," a writer in the well-known Calcutta paper *Capital*, said of Dr Macdonald: "He always impressed me as being one of the most entirely honest and transparent men I have ever met. Forty years of patient service in the wilderness had begotten an experience which blossomed into a cheerful hope, pervading his whole nature and revealing those radiant tints which the westering autumnal sun

alone can give. . . . He was altogether a gracious personality, and it is men like this who constitute the real wealth of the community."

Even more significant was the tone, not merely of admiration, but in many cases of affection, in the native press. *Unity and the Minister* wrote: "Unto us his death has been a great personal bereavement." The *Bengali* said: "He was an ideal missionary, a true soldier of the Cross. Every Sunday afternoon, in sunshine or in storm, in joy or in sorrow, in health or in sickness, he used to preach to an open-air congregation of young men in Beadon Square, and in the northern division of the town, which had so long been the scene of his strenuous work in the service of his Master, his memory will be cherished lovingly and reverentially, as that of a white *Rishi*, for many years to come."

On the Sunday following his death, reference was made to the event in nearly all the Christian pulpits in Calcutta. In Wellesley Square United Free Church the Rev. David Reid, at the close of a sermon on the text, "Blessed are the peacemakers," paid a tribute to Dr Macdonald's memory from which a few sentences may be quoted: "Dr Macdonald was not only the oldest missionary of the United Free Church in India, but the oldest missionary in our Church's whole foreign field. . . . Dr Macdonald's forty-two years of service were all spent in this city, and won for him a position of unique influence. When he was on furlough and in failing health a few years ago, it was thought that he might with honour retire from active duty and spend the remainder of his days in his native land. But he loved India, he loved Calcutta, he loved the Bengalis, he loved his work, and he was determined to return.

"One might touch upon Dr Macdonald's character and life-work in various aspects, and speak of him from different points of view. But the point of view suggested by our text to-night seems almost as appropriate as any. In both senses of the word Dr Macdonald was a peacemaker. He was an ambassador of Christ, beseeching sinners to be reconciled to God, and he was a mediating influence between different classes of his fellow-men.

"His missionary work was in the main evangelistic; as a preacher of the Gospel of peace he was to be found every Sunday afternoon and evening at Beadon Square, proclaiming the way of salvation to listening Hindus. He preached the same Gospel of peace from this pulpit, when in charge of the congregation for about a year. . . . There never was a good cause set on foot in our city, having

for its object the lessening of sin and discord and the promotion of righteousness and peace, but found in Dr Macdonald a staunch and weighty advocate. No other citizen of Calcutta can have sat on so many committees, and taken an active part in the work of so many religious and philanthropic societies as he did.

"Of peacemaking also in the more usual acceptation of the term, namely, peacemaking between man and man, between class and class, Dr Macdonald achieved not a little. His broad and open mind and very kindly heart eminently qualified him for this blessed work. More than once I have seen him rise in the course of a heated discussion among brethren, and pour oil on the troubled waters. He was in specially close and sympathetic touch with the Bengali community, and at the same time never lost touch with his own fellow-countrymen. He possessed the confidence and esteem of the whole missionary body, and at the same time was respected and trusted by Government officials and men of business. When any deputation was to be sent to the Lieutenant-Governor or the Commissioner of Police, an effort was generally made to get Dr Macdonald to head it. He was conservative and warmly evangelical in theology, but at the same time—and this is not altogether common in men of threescore years and ten—his mind was singularly fresh and candid and receptive of new truth. One of the last speeches I heard him make was at the Bengali Christian Conference in April last, when he spoke in defence of a reasonable and believing Higher Criticism, and appealed to his audience to refrain from condemning the critics indiscriminately and from regarding their work upon the Bible with mere suspicion and distrust.

"Such a man was a great gift to the Church of Christ in Bengal, and we cannot but mourn his death as a very serious loss. . . . And yet in the midst of our sorrow we cannot but give thanks—thanks for the long useful career so honourably ended, thanks for the crown of life happily won, thanks for the peaceful entrance of the good servant into the joy of his Lord."

A resolution passed by the Bengal Mission Council of the United Free Church reviews with some detail the missionary career with which the reader is now familiar. The more personal portions may be quoted, especially as they bear traces of the work of the hand of the intimate and devoted Bengali friend whose name has occurred very frequently in the foregoing pages, and who is one of the local laymen elected to serve along with the missionaries on this

Council. The object of his work on Hinduism and the other religions of India is aptly described as that of "supplying information, exposing error and disentangling unconscious testimony to the truth."

"Dr Macdonald," the resolution says in conclusion, "evinced throughout a most lively interest in the Mission Church, and was ever anxious to minister to the needs and to promote the welfare of individuals and families belonging to it. He joined the membership of the Mission Church, and was elected an elder. The Bengali Christian community, in general, enjoyed his active sympathy, and his identification with all that made for their weal was so complete that he was elected an honorary member of the Bengali Christian Conference, a recognition as yet accorded to only three other foreign missionaries.

"Dr Macdonald's services were in requisition outside of the Mission. Missionaries of other denominations, inter-denominational bodies, undenominational bodies, all branches of Christian work, sought his help and guidance. He was the leading figure in the Missionary Conference.

"Dr Macdonald was the trusted friend and guide of all sections of the non-Christian community in their difficulties, in their reform movements and in their philanthropic efforts.

"The Government frequently availed itself of Dr Macdonald's counsel and co-operation.

"In the University Dr Macdonald commanded the esteem and confidence of the entire Senate. He kept up Dr Duff's Christian influence on the cause of education.

"The Council resolve to record their keen sense of the loss the Mission has sustained by Dr Macdonald's death, and their high appreciation of the services he was privileged to render, not to the Mission alone, but to the missionary enterprise in general. Imbued with love and sympathy for the people, animated with burning zeal for the progress of the Kingdom, blessed with indomitable energy and untiring diligence, Dr Macdonald brought to bear upon his labours a maturity of wisdom and experience, a versatility of genius, a ready voice and a prolific pen, that marked him out as a worker specially acknowledged of God."

A resolution passed by the Foreign Mission Committee in Edinburgh dwelt upon his "sympathetic knowledge of and love for the natives, his great faith in the future of India Missions and his

firm conviction of the Church's wisdom in combining educational and evangelistic work."

The resolutions passed by the various religious societies with which Dr Macdonald had been closely identified or associated in Calcutta, reiterate to a considerable extent the same sentiments as those expressed in the documents already quoted, and recount the same facts. Still, it is worth while reproducing the more important of them, in part at least, as a testimony to the unanimity of opinion that prevailed among his fellow-missionaries of other denominations, as well as his own, regarding the worth of his character and the value of his services. They also furnish the reader with the means of comparing the estimate of his life and work found in these pages with that of independent witnesses.

The first we give is that of the Calcutta Missionary Conference :—

"The Calcutta Missionary Conference have heard with deep regret of the death of one of their oldest and most valued colleagues, the Rev. Dr K. S. Macdonald. Over forty years a missionary in Calcutta, he rose to be the Father of the Conference, distinguishing himself by his consummate wisdom, his indomitable zeal, his fearless championship and his indefatigable labours, in the cause of the Kingdom. He was the trusted guide of the Conference in all debatable questions. There is not a department of Christian activity but eagerly sought and readily obtained the advantage of his versatile scholarship, his mature experience and his weighty influence. He enjoyed the esteem and commanded the confidence of all communities, European and Indian, Christian and non-Christian, with whom he was in the closest touch, and whose truest welfare was ever nearest his heart. He wielded a prolific pen, and numerous and varied are his contributions to mission literature. His researches into the sacred scriptures of the country, especially into Vedic and Tantric literature, have produced results of great missionary value. He fought for, and secured, a judicial declaration of the right of missionaries to preach in the public squares without a licence from the authorities. The Government, the University, philanthropic bodies, leaders of the people, appreciated the help he ungrudgingly lent. His enthusiasm and his energy shone forth conspicuous in the relief of suffering, in the protection of the weak, in the redress of injustice of every type. It would be difficult to supply the gap his removal has made in the missionary force."

The next is that of the Bible Society:—

"The Committee of the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society place on record their sense of the deep loss which the Church of Christ in India has experienced through the removal by death of Dr K. S. Macdonald, who has for so many years taken a prominent place in the missionary circle in Calcutta. Dr Macdonald landed in this city in March 1862, and resided here through the whole of his career in India. He was a many-sided man, and on every side won the affection and esteem of all with whom he had to do. His influence for good was very great among the educated community of Calcutta. The Committee would specially refer to the deep interest he always took in Bible work. He was a member of the Committee during almost the whole of his mission life. For several years he was its Secretary, and since 1898 he has been Vice-President of the Society. He was profoundly conscious of the blessing which the Bible had been to himself personally, and there was nothing which he more earnestly desired than that the book should be to the people of India as great a blessing as it had been to himself. He lived to a ripe old age, and was permitted to be in harness to the very last. The Committee thank God for the great work which their departed brother was permitted to do for so many years, and they pray that the fruits of it may be seen for a long time to come."

The Tract and Book Society recorded the following:—

"The Committee of the Calcutta Christian Tract and Book Society desire to express their sense of profound loss which Indian Missions have experienced through the decease of the Rev. K. S. Macdonald, M.A., D.D., who for more than forty years resided and worked in this city as a most earnest, persevering and loving-hearted minister of Christ. Dr Macdonald was instant in season and out of season, always abounding in the work of the Lord. He was trusted and loved by hundreds of students and others, and seemed to be never weary of assisting and encouraging them, and his home-going has left a blank that will not easily be filled. In addition to teaching and preaching, Dr Macdonald was an indefatigable writer, and was also for many years the editor of the *Indian Evangelical Review*. When the liberty of preaching in public squares and places of resort was threatened by an official high in office, Dr Macdonald stood by his brother missionaries and preachers and assisted them in gaining the victory over an illegal

and uncalled-for attempt to curtail free speech. Whilst absolutely faithful to his own convictions and loyal to that branch of the Church of Christ with which his union was coincident with his life, he was a lover of all good men, and heartily at one with all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and he showed this at every opportunity throughout his career. He passed away beloved and regretted by Christians and by many others; nor did failing health and diminishing strength tempt him to retire. It was literally true of him that he 'laid down his body and his charge, and ceased at once to work and live.' 'He asked life of Thee, and Thou gavest it to him, even length of days for ever and ever.'"

The Committee of Management of the Young Men's Christian Association passed the following resolution :—

"Deeply moved by the sudden death of the Rev. K. S. Macdonald, M.A., D.D., its oldest member, the Committee of Management of the College Branch of the Calcutta Young Men's Christian Association desires to place upon record its high appreciation of the rare gifts, the unflagging energy, the great wisdom, the keen sympathy and the never-failing love which in a special measure qualified him for his mission to the student population of Calcutta, and made him for forty-two years one of the most prominent workers for Christ in Calcutta.

"To Dr Macdonald this Student Branch of the Association owes a debt which it cannot estimate. In its inception, its organisation, the securing of the present site and the raising of its funds, he took a prominent part; and in the council chamber, in the open air and in the lecture hall, it ever had his warm sympathy and his practical aid. This Committee will keenly feel the loss of his wide experience and ripe judgment."

In nearly every case, it need hardly be said, these words of grateful appreciation were coupled with an expression of deep sympathy with Mrs Macdonald and the other members of Dr Macdonald's family.

So far we have heard the witness of fellow-missionaries or of missionary organisations. To these may be added the tribute of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the highest local representative of the Crown. Although Sir Andrew Fraser had been appointed to this office during Dr Macdonald's life-time, he did not formally take up its duties till two or three months after his death. The speech from which the following extract is taken was delivered at

the Annual Distribution of Prizes in connection with the Girls' Schools of the United Free Church Mission in Calcutta in the month of February 1904. After referring to the work of such schools generally and to the Report of the previous year, Sir Andrew went on to say:—

"There is only one other remark which I shall make before I sit down; and that is, that as I have thoroughly rejoiced in your joy, and as I heartily congratulate you on my own behalf and on behalf of my wife in regard to the success of the efforts made on behalf of the girls as indicated not only in the Report, but also in the bright scene that is behind me as I speak, so also I grieve with you in your griefs. I sympathise with you in the losses you have sustained, I specially and deeply deplore the death of Dr Macdonald. To me there was a real sense of deep personal loss when I heard of the death of my friend. I had looked forward to great assistance from him in the administration of this province. He was a man for whom I had the greatest respect and regard, and for whom also I had a deep personal and private friendship and love. He was a man who loved the people of this country as few men do. He was a man of such largeness of heart and such broad sympathy, that he was able not only to enter into his proper work, but also to look after the general interests of the people in connection with schemes of beneficence and reform; and from such a man the head of the Government must necessarily have expected great assistance. When he knew that I was coming here, he began from the first to indicate his willingness to help, and I know that I should have received great assistance from him. I think there are few men who have been working all their later years in this province who have been so universally beloved, whose life and character all classes have held in so high an appreciation, and who have met with so much of the regard and reverence of those with whom they came in contact. Dr Macdonald was a man not only earnestly devoted to the work for which he came out to this country, but also, as I have said, able to go beyond that, and seek to advance the interests of the people in other matters. He was also a man of rare personal attraction. He had that beautiful Highland courtesy, which, I think, is one of the most attractive things in the world, that gift of friendship, that unfailing sympathy, which made him such a dear, good friend to those who knew him. And, above all, there was the sterling and perpendicular loyalty to Christ, which makes a man more esteemed than anything else. I

feel very strongly the deepest sympathy with the great loss which you and this city, and even also this province, have sustained in the death of Dr Macdonald."

More gratifying to Dr Macdonald himself than any of these generous tributes of praise, would have been the knowledge that the good seed which he had sown so widely and so faithfully in his life-time was to continue to bear fruit after his death. Six weeks after he was laid to rest, on the 13th September, an educated Bengali was baptised in the London Mission at Bhowanipore, Calcutta. His testimony was clear and striking. He had been brought up as a Brahmo, and his attention had been first arrested by reading Dr Macdonald's lecture on the *Insufficiency of Mere Theism*, and the impression produced on his mind by it had been deepened by the Rev. Lal Behari Day's *Defects of Brahmoism*. He sought out Dr Macdonald, who received him with his accustomed kindness, gave him books to read, invited him to come to his house for further instruction, and helped him in every way he could. At last, through the influence of a friend who was a Christian, he was led to place himself definitely under the instruction of the missionaries of the London Mission, with a view to baptism. The great Day alone will reveal how many others were led on their way Christwards by the same kindly hand.

The faithful servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, from the hour when he first put his hand to the plough, never looked back; he held on without wavering till he reached the end of his furrow. He was not ashamed of the Gospel; he magnified his office as an ambassador for Christ; he gloried in the Cross. To commend to others the Saviour he loved was the supreme joy of his life. Although now dead he speaks to us who are left, of duty well done; of a fight well fought for "Jesus Christ in glorious Christian field"; and of a faith that satisfied both mind and heart. He rests from his labours, and his works do follow him.

"Man's life is but a working day
Whose tasks are set aright:
A time to work, a time to pray,
And then a quiet night.
And then, please God, a quiet night,
Where palms are green and robes are white;
A long-drawn breath, a balm for sorrow,
And all things lovely on the morrow."

—CHRISTINA ROSSETTI.

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